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ABSTRACT

This study examined changes in private college governance during the years 1960-90, and at how external forces affected decision making structures and processes and at faculty's powers. The theoretical construct for the study was largely based on H. Mintzberg's (1983) concepts of organizational structure and power. Historical and case study methods were used to examine the evolution of faculty governance roles at four colleges, generically named Elite, Unionized, Traditional, and Crisis. The study found that standards and policies promulgated by both the Middle States Association and the American Association of University Professors had strengthened the faculty role in the governance process. It was also found that while Mintzberg's theories were useful in examining changes within the organizational life cycle of colleges, they were less useful in articulating differences within organizations. The study resulted in recommendations for the various groups concerned with faculty's role in governance: accrediting organizations, the American Association of University Professors, faculty, and college presidents and administrators. It is recommended that future research identify barriers to the implementation of findings concerning governance, consider how Mintzberg's theories on organizational dynamics might be applied, and increase utilization of analytic generalization in case study research on institutions of higher education. Four tables summarize data on faculty governance structures and processes. (Contains approximately 200 references.) (CH)

THE FACULTY ROLE IN GOVERNANCE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF
THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND THE MIDDLE STATES
ASSOCIATION ON ACADEMIC DECISION MAKING

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Introduction

The process of history is unique, but nonetheless intelligible. Each situation and event is distinct, but each is connected to all the foregoing and succeeding ones by a complex web of cause and effect, probability and accident. The present may be the consequence of accidents, or of irresistible forces, but in either case the present consequences of past events are real and irreversible. The unique present, just as each point in the past, is utterly unintelligible unless we understand the history of how it came to be (Daniels, 1966, p. 5.)

During the 1960's and early 1970's American society- in response to civil rights issues, the Vietnam war, the peace movement and political dissatisfaction with government- underwent a period of intense scrutiny and self-examination. The nation's campuses reflected this unrest and desire for change. Students and faculty at many institutions saw a need to alter the decision making process in their universities. Many of the issues of concern to the students however, had little to do with academics or campus governance. Millett (1978) observed that "the student revolution was an excuse for rather than the cause of, new forms of campuswide governance" (p. xi.) He noted that the student disruptions provided faculty members with an opportunity to increase their influence in college and university affairs.

The report of the Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic negotiation of the American Association for Higher Education identified the main source of faculty discontent as the "nonrecognition or nonaccommodation of a faculty desire to participate in policies affecting the professional status and performance of faculties" (AAHE Report, 1967, as quoted in Millett, 1978, p. 4.) Some institutions founded senates during this period. Faculty in other institutions began to examine and strengthen their by-laws. Another mechanism for increasing faculty participation in decision making that developed during the 1960's and the 1970's was collective bargaining. Millett (1978) described this era as a "period of innovation in campus governance" (p. xi.)

Most of the student and faculty unrest occurred in the large public and private universities (Hodgkinson, 1974.) Changes in the structure and processes of governance occurred first in these institutions. However over a period of years, the smaller private colleges revised their governance structures as well. This study sought to examine the legacy of the "period of innovation" in governance in private colleges in the decades following the 1960's. Governance for the purpose of this study refers to the "structure and processes of decision making" as distinguished from administration or management (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973, p.vii.) Faculty participate in college governance through election or appointment to committees whose membership may include faculty, students and administrators, called college wide decision making structures (such as college senates) or solely of faculty, called faculty decision making structures (such as faculty councils.) This activity - institutional service - comprises one component of the academic role of faculty members.

Although the academic role of faculty (research, teaching, institutional service, community service and student advisement) was identifiable by the mid 1940's, refinement of certain aspects of the role continue to the present day (Bess, 1982.) For example, faculty participation in governance (part of the institutional service role) has evolved over time as the decision making structures in colleges changed in response to influences within the organization as well as to external influences from organizations in the environment. Faculty serve on committees (decision making / governance structures) that did not exist in their institutions in the 1950's and consider issues not formerly discussed by faculty such as institutional planning and budgeting e.g. see Floyd (1985.)

The focus of this research on the governance process in private colleges is the historical relationship in the decades following the 1960's, between two important "external influencers," the Middle States Association (MSA), a regional accreditation association, and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) the professional faculty association, and two important "internal influencer", the faculty and presidents. The manner in which each used power to effect changes in the formal governance structures over time is examined through case study illustrations of four private colleges, analysis of MSA archival data and higher education literature, interviews with college faculty, deans and presidents and experts on accreditation.

Relevant to this study is the process used by faculty to redistribute power as well as the formal changes that evolved in governance structures; however isolating factors both internal and external that have had an impact on changes in governance structures over time is difficult. As Lee (1979) observed "the multi dimensional nature of academic governance makes the tracing of causes and effects of change in governance procedures extremely complex" (pp. 580-581.) The theories of Henry Mintzberg are incorporated into this research to facilitate tracing this complex organizational phenomena.

This research used historical and case study methods to examine the evolution of the faculty governance role. Mintzberg's (1983 a, b) theories on organizational structure and power form the conceptual framework for the study. Mintzberg's theories are not used to test formal hypotheses but rather to provide a mechanism to examine the relationships between the internal and external influencers during the historical period. Using Mintzberg's (1983a, b) theories in this manner furnished an opportunity to examine the applicability of his theories on organizational structure and power in higher education organizations.

Mintzberg's framework defines power as the "capacity to effect (or affect) organizational outcomes" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 4.) This research uses Mintzberg's (1983a, b) conceptualization of the power of internal and external influencers to effect change within an organization. According to Mintzberg, influencers are those "who seek to control the organization's decisions and actions," and eleven groups - six internal and five external - vie for organizational power. Internal influencers are those full time employees who are charged "with making the decision and taking the actions on a permanent, regular basis; it is they who determine the outcomes, which express the goals pursued by the organization". The "internal influencers" of interest to this study are the college faculty and their presidents. Other internal influencers in academic organizations include administrators such as the president, vice presidents and deans, and personnel in support services such as the computer facilities. External influencers are "nonemployees who use their bases of influence to try to affect the behavior of the employees" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 22 -26.) Important "external influencers" for academic organizations include the professional associations and the education departments of federal and state governments. The "external influencers" of interest to this study are the Middle States Association (MSA) and the American Association of University Professors.

The purpose of the MSA accrediting process is to assist an institution improve educational effectiveness. In the Middle States region of the Eastern U. S., most colleges complete a comprehensive self-study every ten years which includes an analysis of sixteen categories such as mission, goals and objectives, programs and curricula, student services, and the faculty (MSA Commission on Higher education, 1991b.) The institutional self study process preceding an accreditation visit provides an opportunity for the faculty to evaluate the adequacy of their governance role in the institution.

The relationship between the self-study process and changes in faculty governance structures is not well documented in the literature. One study was identified which found that the accreditation / self-study process "tends to drive a variety of changes, including major examinations of institutional goals / mission and changes in faculty governance" (Finkelstein et al., 1984, p.250.) Writing about accreditation, Bender (1983) comments that the self-study process can be used by special interest groups such as faculty or administrators to further their own goals and that on-site accreditation visitors

unaware of the internal politics may be pulled into the internal power struggles (Bender, 1983, pp.81-82.)

The issue of how power is shared among the faculty, administrators, trustees and students is central to an understanding of the faculty role in governance. Keeton (1977) says that the issue of who should govern "is not primarily a question about participation in boards, councils and committees. It is a question of the influence and effect appropriate to the rights and responsibilities of those who constitute the campus and its constituencies" (p.195.) Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker, and Riley (1978) put it another way observing that different constituencies establish "spheres of influence" over the issues that most concern them, that power is not equally divided among these "spheres of influence" and that under certain conditions it may be redistributed. In 1966 the AAUP developed the Joint Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities which addresses the governance roles of the constituencies in academic organizations.

A premise of this study is that in making changes in governance structures and processes, the internal influencers (faculty), aided by the external influencers (the professional associations), are moving toward a more comprehensive involvement in the governance of the institution and to what Finkelstein (1984) referred to as the "ideal typical expression of the academic role." The faculty at these institutions in 1960, the start of the focal period of this study were much farther away from this "ideal" than they are today. Furthermore, faculty in many of these colleges continue to struggle with the dynamics of the balance of power into the 1990's and rely on "external influence" from organizations such as the MSA and the AAUP to increase their governance role in the institution. This study examined changes in the faculty governance role that resulted from the juxtaposition of changing external and internal forces from 1960 to the present. Specifically, it looked at the impact of the accreditation process and the AAUP on institutional decision making in private colleges. The proposed research can be summarized in the following questions:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What was the process by which certain "external influencers" (the MSA and AAUP) exercised their power to affect changes in decision making structures and processes in private colleges between the 1960's and the 1990's?
2. What process did the "internal influencers" (the faculty) utilize to overcome the power of the president and increase their own power in decision making structures and processes in private colleges between the 1960's and the 1990's?
3. What has been the effect of both of the above influencers (separately and jointly) on college-wide decision making structures and processes in private colleges between the 1960's and the 1990's?

The nature of the changes that have occurred in the structures and processes of private college governance and the reasons why these changes occurred are not well documented in the literature. Dill and Helm (1988) noted that very little has been written about faculty participation in governance particularly when compared to the 1970's. They specifically cite a lack of "research on or serious analysis of the issues confronting academic governance during the last ten years" (p. 320.) Dill and Helm conclude that research on academic governance should include a focus on the process of decision making in its various forms in different types of institutions, for example, collegial governance in liberal art's colleges.

In an analysis of faculty participation in decision making, Floyd (1985), found that much of what has been written is based on the experiences at large universities and recommends that more research "should focus on patterns of participation at types of institutions other than research universities" (p.70.) The study builds on these two recommendations and examines faculty governance in private colleges over time periods long enough to describe changes in the organizational design of these decision making structures as they evolved since the 1960's.

Additionally, there is a need to examine what effect the accreditation process has had on changes in faculty governance over time especially in light of the issues currently surrounding the accreditation process (American Council on Education, HENA, 1996.). Some have argued that accreditation has little long term effect on the institution. Criticisms of the accreditation process are long standing. For example, Elliot (1983) notes that "in far too many instances, colleges and universities view accreditation as a troublesome outside force that they have to contend with periodically" (p. 9.) Bender (1983) comments that

Accreditation is not seen as a continuous process of self evaluation and self-improvement but rather as a series of widely spaced visits by representatives of an external body for which hectic preparations must be made. After reaffirmation of accreditation, many institutions cease any further self-evaluation activity until the five-or ten -year period has passed and the institution must again prepare for a visit (p.83.)

This research examined the long term effects of the accreditation process in one area - changes in faculty governance. Although the role of the AAUP in addressing faculty governance concerns is well documented in the higher education literature, no studies were identified that examined the influence of and possible relationship between the AAUP and an accrediting body such as the MSA on effecting faculty governance issues over long periods of time.

Introduction to the Colleges

Faculty governance varies to some extent according to the type of educational organization. This study examined the development of faculty governance in private colleges over a forty year period during which time many institutions diversified becoming more complex Baldrige et al.'s (1978) conceptualization of higher educational organizations provided a flexible mechanism to examine these institutions over time. Baldrige et al., (1978) adapted the Carnegie Classification System and divided higher education institutions into eight categories - from the multiversity to the community college-based on three significant factors: environmental relations, professional task and size / complexity. The types of institutions can be viewed on a continuum with the private universities and multiversities at one end of the continuum, having the most complex tasks, the most influential faculty and environmental factors that have the least affect on the autonomy of the institution. These are followed by the elite private liberal arts colleges, the public comprehensive and colleges, the less selective private liberal arts colleges and the community colleges.

Private colleges were selected as the sample for this research because of the variety of institutions encompassed in this category. In order to examine the development of the faculty role in governance it was useful to examine how it changed over a period of time in different types of colleges. Private colleges span the continuum from the elite liberal arts colleges with select students and strong faculties (liberal arts I) at one end to the colleges toward the lower end (liberal arts II) which Baldrige et al., (1978) describe as having generally weak faculties, strong administrations and environmental factors that have a significant effect on the institution. This category includes some institutions where the faculty are unionized. An environmental factor of particular concern to private colleges with small endowments is the ability to maintain adequate enrollments since the institutions are often purely tuition driven. The evolution of the faculty governance role in four colleges is chronicled in this study. The institutions were assigned names that characterize their faculty governance role: Elite, Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College. Elite College is on the high end while Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College fall at lower points along Baldrige et al.'s (1978) spectrum. The years between the 1960's and the 1990's were a volatile financial period for institutions of higher education particularly the private colleges. A tremendous amount of federal money was poured into higher education beginning with the GI bill of rights following World War II and continuing through the National Defence Education Act (1958), the Higher Education Act (1965), and the education amendments (1972.) These measures

provided funds to students in private colleges in the form of federal work study programs, loans and grants. Breneman (1994) noted that this financing was supported by the growing belief in the benefits of education for the individual and society made popular with Gary Becker's (1980) Human Capital.

The decade of the 1950's was a calm and prosperous one while the 1960's was characterized by rapid growth as the nation's colleges and universities prepared to educate the "baby boomers". Breneman (1994) observed that the 1960's were marked by a "strong, noninflationary economy" and many characterized the early 1960's as the "golden years of American higher education" (p.23.) The period of prosperity faltered in the late 1960's and 1970's. Private colleges faced competition for students from the newer state institutions. They found it necessary to increase tuition to deal with stabilized enrollments while expenses including student aid continued to increase (Breneman, 1994.) These financial problems affected the faculty role within the institution as well as the policies and practices of the external influencers - the AAUP and the MSA.

In all of the colleges the faculty governance role changed substantially during the historical period. Only Elite College had faculty by-laws in the 1950's. By the 1990's, faculty by-laws and an autonomous faculty structure were in place in all of the institutions except Crisis College. At each of the colleges, the faculty "revolted" against their Presidents to achieve their goals in the institution. The histories of the four colleges chronicle the events surrounding these faculty revolts. Each faculty revolt occurred in a different decade of the twentieth century reflecting issues of concern to higher education. All involved conflict between faculty and autocratic Presidents. The four case studies are presented in sequential order according to the decade of their faculty revolt. The events at Elite depict a college during a first wave of faculty revolts that occurred in the early years of the century. The AAUP was founded in 1915 in response to these faculty concerns of academic freedom and tenure. Some early battles were related to academic freedom such as faculty member's public stance on a controversial issue, but most faculty complaints involved tenure issues (Bulletin of the AAUP, 1915-1920.) The removal of tenured professors at Elite College in 1916 was a presidential cost cutting measure and a contributing factor to the revolt on that campus. Two World Wars and a major depression occupied the country and the college faculty in subsequent decades (AAUP Committee A, 1943.) References in college archives, e.g., Elite College attest to the interruptions in committee work that resulted on campuses as faculty were drafted or relocated to other parts of the country during these decades. It is not until the 1960's - a period of prosperity and expansion in higher education-that faculty governance issues assumed center stage on college and university campuses.

Faculty issues regarding governance and tenure are often intertwined with the financial health of the institution especially in tuition-driven private colleges. This is more readily apparent when colleges are examined over a period of decades - as in the four case studies - rather than at one point in their histories. However, in the 1970's and 1980's financial difficulties tied to changing enrollment patterns and student academic interests, and maintenance and personnel costs were a concern in all types of institutions of higher education - not just the private colleges. In administrative decisions regarding tenure - the cost of tenure to the institution has often been a factor - as at Traditional College in the 1970's and 1980's. Other issues also influence faculty - administrative conflicts over tenure decisions such as the viability of an academic discipline and the role of peer review in the tenure decision process.

Many of these issues - institutional finances, faculty control of policies that affect faculty, viability of an academic area and control of the curriculum - are crucial aspects of faculty governance - the focus of this study. Issues of faculty governance, tenure and institutional finances appear interwoven at various points in the case studies of Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College. At these institutions the Presidents and faculty assumed adversarial positions that were often unresolved. The history of Elite College provides a contrast of good rapport between faculty and their Presidents during the focal period. The three faculty revolts (at Unionized, 1960's-1970's; Traditional, 1980's; and Crisis College, 1990's) that occurred during the focal historical period involved appeals for assistance from the faculty to "external influencers" - the faculty professional association (AAUP) and the regional accrediting

association (MSA.) Changes in the policies, structures and / or procedures of these organizations during the historical period increased their responsiveness to faculty concerns on individual campuses.

Related Literature

The three literature areas pertinent to this study are environment, manifested in the professional associations and regional accrediting associations, and organizational power and governance.

Environment

The concept of external environment is important in any discussion of faculty governance because the internal governance pattern that develops in an institution will be affected by whether the institution is highly dependent or independent of the environment (Baldrige et al., 1978.) Everything external to the organization constitutes its environment and potentially may affect any part of the organization (Daft, 1992.) As open systems, organizations are in a state of dynamic equilibrium with the environment through the ongoing exchange of information, materials and energy. Both the environment and the organization have an impact on this process of exchange "suggesting their independence and the importance of their interactive effects" (Hrebiniak and Joyce, 1985, p.38.) Some of the early research on environment focused on classification of the general environment to facilitate the process of goal setting and decision making within the organization (Emery and Trist, 1965; Thompson, 1967; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969; Katz and Kahn, 1978; Duncan, 1979.) The ultimate concern of these authors is to alter the design of the organization to achieve a "proper fit" with the environment and to define "which organizational structures, management styles, etcetera are most appropriate (effective) for different technologies and/or environmental contingencies" (Bourgeois, 1978, p. 508.) Mintzberg (1979) summarizes the classification systems noting that they identify four characteristics of organizational environments: stability, complexity, market diversity and hostility. Mintzberg (1979) identifies four specific kinds of environments (in a matrix form of stable-dynamic and simple-complex) and the type of structure that would best fit in that environment. He classifies academic organizations as complex-stable environments (i.e., bureaucratic but decentralized.)

Much of the current research focuses on devising strategies to deal effectively with the environment (Anacona and Caldwell, 1992; Gupta, 1994). For example, Lenz and Engledow (1986) reviewed and classified the existing theory on environment and structure in order to assist "practitioners to enhance the environmental analysis and strategic decision making capacity of their organization" (p. 229.)

Both the regional accrediting associations and the professional faculty association (e.g., AAUP) are important factors in the academic environment. The six regional accrediting associations (e.g., MSA) are essential components of the college environment. Since 1952 colleges have had to be accredited by one of these regional associations in order for their students to qualify for various forms of federal financial aid - a significant source of income in private tuition-driven institutions (Proffitt, 1979.) The AAUP occupies a prominent although very different role from the regional associations in the environment of academic organizations. Through actions such as institutional censure, the AAUP alerts both the institution and the broader academic community of issues of concern to faculty in higher education.

Power

In this research, the concept of power is used to examine the factors that affected the evolution of the faculty role in governance and changes in college-wide decision making structures in private colleges. It is also used to examine the relationship between the faculty and their presidents. Power has been defined in various ways (Dahl, 1957; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977; Bacharach and Lawler, 1981; Mintzberg, 1983a; Daft, 1992) and the power literature can be divided into two broad areas - personal power and organizational power.

More recent studies on interpersonal power focus on power and aspects of management (Boeker, 1992; Ibarra and Andrews, 1993; Ocasco, 1994; Townlwy, 1993).

Although college leaders use personal power, the concept of organizational power is particularly relevant to this study. Much of this literature focuses on intraorganizational power, i.e., power among units within an organization (e.g., Salancik and Pfeffer, 1974; Enz, 1988; Lachman, 1989; Bocker, 1989; Burkhardt and Brass, 1990, 1993; Krackhardt, 1990.) For example, Hackman's (1985) research on power among units in academic organizations examines the environmental power of each unit and how power influences decisions about resource allocation.

Fewer studies focus on interorganizational power relationships (e.g., Provan et al., 1980; Covalerski and Dirmsmith, 1988.) Provan et al., (1980) studied the interorganizational network of a United Way organization and its member agencies. Building on the work of Wrong (1968), Provan et al., examined the concept of potential and enacted power noting that power doesn't have to be exercised to be a factor in a relationship. This concept of potential and enacted power may be descriptive of the relationship between the Middle States Association and private colleges. For example, in Helsabeck's (1973) examination of effective decision making in colleges, Ostrom's conception of "concurrent regimes" (Ostrom 1961) was used to describe a situation where the decision making ability of an internal group is strengthened through strong ties to external agencies. In one private college Helsabeck found that:

...power is gained by an internal group (the faculty) by virtue of their recourse to an alternate authority structure (the accrediting association, AAUP chapter, union.) These external authority structures apparently operate as a restraint on internal decision-making practices even if recourse to them is only threatened and not actually employed (p. 89.)

Most useful to this research are the "typologies of organizational power" developed by theorists such as Allison (1971), Etzioni (1961), Rhenman (1973) and Mintzberg (1983a.) Mintzberg notes that the combinations or "pure types" identified in these typologies explain much of the "power behavior" both in and around organizations (p. 292.) Mintzberg's typology (1983a) was chosen as the theoretical framework for the proposed study because it synthesizes aspects of organizational structure and power, examines internal and external influencers and is applicable to normative organizations such as private colleges.

Governance

Although faculty have participated in institutional governance since colonial times (Cowley, 1981), much of the research based literature on governance prior to 1955 has to be extricated from the histories of individual institutions or reports (Peterson and Mets, 1987.) A dozen books, landmark studies and statements written from the mid-1960's through the 1970's, described by Millett (1978) as "the period of innovation in governance," identified the central themes that still concern many of those writing about governance today. The most cited studies of this period address the issues of authority and shared governance (Corson, 1975; Baldrige, et al., 1978; Millett 1978; and Mortimer and McConnell 1978.) As these studies reveal, the mid 1970's were an important period for research on governance. Enough time had elapsed for researchers to evaluate the effectiveness of changes made in governance structures during the 1960's and early 1970's and also to begin to look ahead and comment on factors that would effect college governance in the years ahead.

Birnbaum (1991) noted that after a fifteen year hiatus, faculty governance issues are again receiving attention in the higher education literature. From the late 1970's through the 1980's, however, governance issues were not entirely ignored, rather the faculty role in governance was discussed in terms of involvement in planning and budgeting (e.g., Chan, 1988) or collective bargaining (e.g., Levenstein, 1980; Kemerer and Baldrige, 1981.)

The preferred methodological approach (Corson, 1960; Schuster, 1994) has been case study analysis, although some of the most influential research studies such as Hodgkinson (1974) and Baldrige et al., (1978) have combined both quantitative and qualitative methods. Most of the writing and research about governance has focused on universities (e.g. Dill, 1971; Childers, 1981; Diamond, 1991; Friedman, 1996) or contrasted governance in different types of institutions (e.g. Baldrige et al., 1978; Gilmore, 1991.) Studies of governance have tended to be "cross sectional" documenting aspects of governance during one period rather than longitudinal or historical studies that trace development over time. Several studies have examined various aspects of the faculty role in governance such as interest, participation or influence (Parsons and Platt, 1968; Curtis, 1972; Baldwin, 1979; Williams, 1986; Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1982; Bess, 1982, 1988; Birnbaum, 1989.) Again much of this literature focuses on faculty in major research universities. Several histories of higher education (Hofstadter and Metzger, 1955; Rudolph, 1962; Veysey, 1965; Cowley, 1981; Kerr, 1991) and the faculty (Finkelstein, 1984; Finkelstein, Farrar, & Pfnister, 1984; Clark, 1987; Bowen and Schuster, 1986) examined aspects of the faculty governance role. Other authors examined various aspects of Presidential leadership and governance (Birnbaum, 1992; Donnelly, 1994.)

Another aspect of interest to this study is the difficulties of shared governance in light of the financial constraints in higher education in the 1980's and 1990's (Benjamin, 1993; Kidgely, 1994.) The private colleges, in particular, experienced financial difficulties during the focal period.

Beginning with Corson's (1960) study, those writing about governance have examined two overlapping themes - the type of authority that dominates in particular types of academic organizations and how authority is shared in academic organizations. The first theme discussed by Blau (1973) (see also Lunsford, 1963; Baldrige et al., 1978; Mortimer and McConnell, 1978; Bensimon, Neumann and Birnbaum, 1989) focuses on the differences in authority in academic organizations between faculty authority (based on expert knowledge) and administrative authority (based on position in the hierarchy.) Blau notes that "the distribution in decision making and influence between the administration and the faculty in an academic institution represents the extent to which bureaucratic or professional authority predominates" (p.159.) He observes that "jurisdiction" cannot always be separated neatly and that conflicts arise when they cannot be so distinguished. Blau found that academic institutions varied in terms of the extent of administrative centralization of authority and concluded that authority is more decentralized in large institutions than small ones, and that certain "bureaucratic characteristics" (such as an administrative hierarchy with several levels) actually reduce centralization in academic organizations.

These issues (bureaucratic vs. professional authority and the degree of centralization of authority) were important in this research on private colleges. The research sought to explain the reasons that colleges leaned in one or the other direction based on the relationship between and among external and internal coalitions.

Since the 1960's, numerous theoretical models have been proposed to examine academic authority and conceptualize the type of decision making likely in particular types of colleges and universities (e.g. dual organization model, Corson, 1960; collegial model, Millett, 1962; bureaucratic model, Blau, 1973; political model, Baldrige, 1971; organized anarchy, Cohen and March, 1974; Weick, 1976 loosely coupled model; rational model, Chaffee, 1983.) However, by the 1980's, many questioned the adequacy of any one model to explain organizational decision making (Childers, 1981; Birnbaum, 1988.) After an extensive review of the literature, Hardy (1990) concluded that research is "bogged down" with many aspects of academic life interpreted in terms of four basic models. Hardy differentiated between structure and process models (as did Childers, 1981) and concluded that university governance structures are usually depicted as professional bureaucracies with "varying degrees of centralization" and that "...overlaid on this structure are five decision making processes..." (p.417.) When theoretical models are used to conceptualize decision making in private colleges, elite colleges are generally described as collegial, and less selective ones as bureaucratic.

While the first theme addressed above was the type of authority that dominates in particular types of academic organizations, the second theme in the literature is how authority is shared in academic organizations. Given the potential for conflict over decision making between faculty and administrators much of the writing and research on institutional governance structures examined how this relationship is mediated in academic organizations. The most commonly used mechanism for faculty participation in institutional decision making is through a "committee that is either connected with the campuswide academic senate or directly advisory to campuswide administrators" (Floyd, 1985, p.xix.) Floyd (1985) identifies three alternate types of participation in faculty and administrative decision making that ranged from "separate jurisdictions" in the 1950's and 1960's, to "shared authority" in the early 1970's, to joint "participation" in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Studies that examine aspects of these alternate types and participation by various constituencies include those by Corson, 1960, Hodgkinson, 1974, Mortimer and McConnell, 1978, Millett, 1978 and Gilmore, 1991. For example, Hodgkinson's (1974) nationwide study found that the majority of institutional governance structures had been formed between 1965 and 1971 and that the most frequent reason given for forming these structures was not student unrest but rather a determination to "democratize decision making and broaden the input base for policy questions" (p.19.) He described the previous governance models at these institutions as varied with the most common type based on a "separation of power." The smaller institutions were more likely to have separate student, faculty and administrative councils than the larger ones (p. 26.)

Finkelstein et al., (1984) examined the adaptive responses of seventeen liberal arts colleges during the 1970's and identified several environmental factors including enrollment declines, revenue shortfalls, broad social factors such as student unrest and the accrediting process as "important drivers of adaptive response" in these institutions. Finkelstein et al. built on the work of Miller and Friesen (1980) who had found that "only a few prototypical adaptive strategies were characteristic of a large variety of organizations" (Finkelstein et al., 1984, p. 246.) Finkelstein identified thirteen "event sequences." One of these, the regional accreditation sequence, caused by the ten year accreditation process tends to drive a variety of changes, including major examination of institutional goals/mission, changes in curriculum, organization administration, and faculty governance as well as conditions of faculty service (p. 250). Studies in the 1980's and 1990's have explained aspects of the links between governance, strategy and planning (Keller, 1983; Hearn and Heydinger, 1993; Chaffee, 1985; Schuster, et al., 1994).

A significant factor in the evolution of shared governance since the 1960's was the introduction of collective bargaining. The literature on collective bargaining as it pertains to private colleges is noteworthy since faculty in some institutions have used collective bargaining to achieve fuller participation in governance. For example, Lee (1979) found that collective bargaining "legitimated and in many cases broadened the scope of the faculty's governance role" (p. 581.) Since comparatively fewer private than public colleges have unionized, less has been written about collective bargaining in these institutions. Garbarino (1975) notes that most private institutions did not unionize during the 1970's and the Yeshiva decision has been a deterrent to the unionization of private colleges throughout the 1980's (Begin and Lee, 1987; Levy, 1987; Nagle, 1994; Annunziato, 1993, 1994.)

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical underpinnings for this study are drawn from Mintzberg's (1983 a,b) concepts of organizational structure and power. Mintzberg's interest was to determine how the multiple and often conflicting goals of its constituencies eventually become the official deeds and acts of the organization. Although no one theory can encompass the variety of factors that influenced the development of faculty role in governance historically, Mintzberg's theories provide a mechanism for examining power dynamics in academic organizations. A conceptual framework was used in this research to examine why the faculty and presidents and the two associations related to each other as they did over a thirty year period and how this relationship affected the evolution of faculty governance

Organizational Structure

Mintzberg (1983b) developed five configurations of organizational structure. His basic premise is that these five configurations (Simple Structure, Machine Bureaucracy, Professional Bureaucracy, Divisionalized Form and Adhocracy) explain how most organizations are structured. Mintzberg (1983b) says that "universities, general hospitals, school systems, public accounting firms, social-work agencies, and craft production firms" may be characterized as professional bureaucracies (p. 189.) Mintzberg (1983b) describes the professional bureaucracy as a flat structure, with a small technostructure, a narrow middle line and a fully developed support staff to provide the necessary services. In an academic organization these services include libraries and computer facilities. The operating core (faculty) has the dominant role in the professional bureaucracy structure. The coordinating mechanism - the primary way that work is organized - is through standardization of worker skills in the operating core meaning that the workers (faculty) are hired because of their expertise and possess considerable autonomy over their own work.

Hardy (1990) concluded that university structures may generally be described as professional bureaucracies with differing amounts of centralization. According to Mintzberg, the structure of the professional bureaucracy is decentralized (both vertically and horizontally) meaning that authority is dispersed among many people - primarily to the faculty in academic departments (the operating core.) The faculty possesses extensive formal authority over the work that they do because it is too complex to be supervised by managers.

This does not mean that administrators have no authority - rather administrative power derives from the roles that the administrator has within the structure, particularly reconciling conflicts within the college and maintaining liaison with external organizations. These are pivotal and ultimately powerful roles within the organization of a professional bureaucracy (Mintzberg, 1983b, pp. 197-200.) Administrators have ultimate control of budget and finance and considerable control over the direction or "mission" of the institution. These aspects of the administrative role are a source of potential conflict with faculty. Faculty hired because of their expertise (standardization of skills) possess considerable autonomy over their work in the department (operating core.) Their involvement on committees (governance structures) gives them access to decision making on an institutional level in the professional bureaucracy. It is this unique position which gives faculty power within the college - although the extent of power may vary according to the type of institution (i.e., university, private college or community college) and the academic discipline.

Organizational Power

Mintzberg's (1983a) conceptualization defines power as the "capacity to effect organizational outcomes" and identifies two subsets: (1.) authority, which is defined as formal power, the power that accrues because of the position or office, and (2.) politics, which is defined as informal power, illegitimate in nature.

Mintzberg (1983a) built on the concept of five organizational design structures to develop a theory of organizational power. He labeled those who try to control the decisions of the organization as "influencers". Mintzberg identifies eleven groups that are influencers in the quest for organizational power. The internal influencers comprise the five component groups of the organization plus the ideology of the organization - the "set of beliefs shared by the internal influencers that distinguishes it from other organizations" (p. 29.) The internal influencers are; (1) those who perform the basic work of the organization (operating core); (2) top management (strategic apex); (3) middle management positions; (4) administrative staff; (5) support staff. The five groups of external influencers are depicted surrounding the organization and include the directors, owners, employee associations, associates and the organizations publics - which includes special interest groups.

Applying Mintzberg's theory to the professional bureaucracy structure - the faculty would be found in the operating core and the president in the position of CEO. The AAUP would be located with

the Employee Associations directly next to the faculty depicting the closeness of this relationship. Mintzberg placed these associations outside the organization even though they represent the professionals who are "internal influencers" within the organization. Although the faculty can influence decisions within the organization, they use the associations to "exert their influence on the organization from outside of its regular decision-making and action-taking channels..." (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 27.)

The MSA would be found in the outer ring among the various publics that surround the organization. As Mintzberg notes these groups surround the structure and influence all facets of the organization.

Mintzberg uses the word "coalition," defining it as a "set of people who bargain among themselves to determine a certain distribution of organizational power" to describe the two elements of power - the internal coalition and the external coalition (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 27.) Mintzberg's theory is based on the premise that each coalition is comprised of influencers determined to gain power either within the organization or over it. In order to understand how organizations work, it is necessary to know "which influencers are present, what needs each seeks to fulfill in the organization, and how each is able to exercise power to fulfill them" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 22.)

The decision making structure in private colleges with the external coalition of the MSA and the AAUP and the internal coalition of the faculty are the focus in this study. Mintzberg (1983a) has identified a variety of ways that each of these coalitions can influence organizational behavior. Immediately following is a description of the methods used by the external and internal coalition to exert influence in the organization.

Mintzberg says that in order to understand the external coalition it is necessary to know what needs they want the organization to meet and how they are able to influence the organization to achieve their goals. In a broader sense this relates to how the external influencers as representatives of society exert control over the institution and how the institution experiences this influence.

Mintzberg (1983a) identifies five ways that members of the external coalition can influence organizational behavior: 1. Social norms (beliefs and values); 2. Formal constraints (laws and regulations.); 3. Pressure campaigns (plans to begin or end some type of behavior.); 4. Direct controls (efforts to control internal decision-making through direct access, inclusion in a decision process, implantation of a full-time representative, authorization of decisions or imposition of a decision); 5. Membership on boards of directors (representation on the governing board.) This study used Mintzberg's theory to examine how each of the "external influencers" (MSA and AAUP) exerted influence in the colleges. According to Mintzberg, the actions of the external influencers are society's way of changing the behavior of an organization. The AAUP and the regional accrediting bodies like the MSA are important factors in the environment of academic organizations. This research sought to examine if actions of the associations over time assisted the faculty in these institutions in moving toward a more comprehensive involvement in the governance of the institution.

While the external coalition has a variety of ways to influence organizational behavior, the internal coalition can also effect change in the organization through the use of several "systems of influence". Mintzberg (1983a) identified four "systems of influence" available to those in the internal coalition: the systems of authority (formal power related to position within the organization), ideology (beliefs shared by the members of the organization), expertise (the knowledge and skills of individual employees) and politics (informal, illegitimate power, not sanctioned by the other three systems and generally associated with conflict in the organization.) Each of the "systems of influence" tend to be used by different internal influencers. For example, those in the strategic apex such as the President or Dean would tend to use the system of authority while all of the internal influencers may use the system of politics at one time or another.

In the professional bureaucracy structure of academic organizations, the "system of expertise" dominates and the "system of politics" is a significant secondary force while the "systems" of both "authority" and "ideology" are generally discouraged (Mintzberg, 1983a, pp. 234 -235.)

The role of the president as the CEO in academic organizations merits comment here. Mintzberg notes that the CEO is the most powerful influencer both "in and around the organization." As the agent of the Board of Trustees, the president has considerable formal power. The position in the organization at the strategic apex provides access to the institutional knowledge base. The CEO is also likely to be the one that best understands the demands of the external influencers. For example, in the case histories of the four colleges it is apparent that the President is more informed about the MSA process than the faculty. The president is also the one most likely to be proficient in using the system of politics - the method used by those who want to reverse the President's influence in the organization. As Mintzberg notes the "cards of the game of organizational power are strongly stacked" in favor of the CEO (Mintzberg, 1983a, p.121.) In contesting the president on issues in the college, the faculty are dealing with the "most knowledgeable member of the Internal Coalition" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 122.)

The System of Authority controlled by the administrators - must surrender even more of its power to its professional employees themselves. In other words, an informal System of Expertise emerges to draw power away from that of formal authority (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 164.)

Figure 1 Political Games. From Power In and Around Organizations (p. 173) by H. Mintzberg, 1983, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.

The faculty have long relied on the system of expertise to gain and maintain control of curriculum/academic decisions - an area where they should have primary control. However, as revealed in the case histories, control of the curriculum continues as an issue in academic organizations into the 1990's. Also of interest in this research is how the faculty use the system of expertise to further their governance role in the institution.

This study examined if and how faculty relied on the system of politics to gain fuller participation in college governance. As depicted in Figure 1, authority (formal power) may be displaced by politics (informal, illegitimate power) due to either "problems or gaps in the other systems of influence" or the needs of the influencer being unsatisfied within these systems (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 173.)

Mintzberg identifies six reasons why politics can displace legitimate power in the organization. One of these ways is through direct links to external influencers. As depicted in Figure 2, the chain of authority is not honored - instead there are direct links between the external and internal coalition. This may result in the "displacement of formal goals, as the demands of certain external influencers get more weight than the senior management prefers to give them" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 181.)

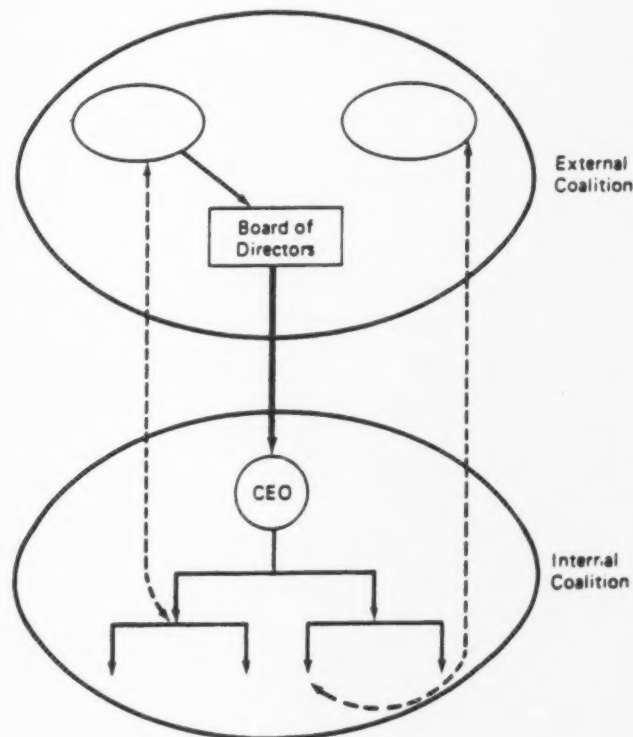


Figure 2 Links Between Influencers. From Power In and Around Organizations. (p. 181) by H. Mintzberg, 1983, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Of interest to this research was how the process of Middle States Accreditation which provided a mechanism for direct contact between the faculty (an internal influencer) and the Middle States Association (an external influencer) influenced the development of faculty governance over time. These relationships were examined through an analysis of the changes that occurred in governance structures historically in four colleges and especially around the time of the ten year cycle of the MSA accreditation process. This research also explored the use of this technique by the faculty in their contacts with the AAUP.

Power Configurations

One additional aspect of Mintzberg's theory on power in and around organizations was examined in this research - namely the "power configurations." Mintzberg (1983a) developed a topology of power configurations based on an examination of the relationship between internal and external power and the premise that particular internal coalitions (IC) and external coalitions (EC) fit together best.

Combining these coalitions (both internal and external) in different combinations results in six common or what Mintzberg refers to as "natural power" configurations and nine additional less common power configurations (Mintzberg, 1983a, p.307.) These nine less common configurations can be functional for organizations "that face conflict".

Mintzberg describes the professional bureaucracy structure (the structure generally used to characterize academic organizations) as a "meritocracy" power configuration with a professional internal coalition (the faculty.) With this type of configuration - the external coalition would be described as "passive" - meaning that there are numerous external influencers with diffuse power so that power passes back to the internal coalition (p. 105.) This study examined (1) if the professional bureaucracy structure (one of Mintzberg's (1983b) five design structures) was descriptive of private colleges both in the 1960's at the start of the focal period and again in the 1990's at the conclusion of the focal period and (2) if the meritocracy was descriptive of the power configurations that existed in private colleges - from the elite private colleges to the smaller private colleges, i.e., those which Baldrige et al. (1978) described as having weak faculties, strong administrators and significant environmental constraints. The power configurations were examined at the start and conclusion of the focal period.

This study explored whether another power configuration was more descriptive of colleges that fall toward the lower end of Baldrige's et al (1978) continuum. This study examined if one of Mintzberg's less common forms of power configurations was more descriptive of the majority of private colleges - namely that of a hybrid form of the "political arena" with a "dominated" external coalition and a "professional" internal coalition. Mintzberg (1983a) points out that in this configuration "a strong System of Authority is incompatible with a strong System of Expertise" (p. 239.) This is one of the less "natural" power configurations which Mintzberg (1983a) says frequently generate varying levels of conflict - from moderate to intense (p. 303.)

Additionally, theory pertaining to the power configurations is also examined in terms of the AAUP's interactions with institutions particularly regarding academic freedom and tenure or shared governance issues.

Research Method

This research used historical and case study methods to examine the evolution of faculty governance in private colleges. As Merriam (1988) notes, "historical research is essentially descriptive, and elements of historical research and case study research often merge" especially in histories of contemporary events (p. 8.) The historical research method was chosen to examine the evolution of faculty governance following the 1960's - the decade of "innovation in governance" and the changes in policies and procedures in the two associations (MSA and AAUP) over the same thirty-year period.

Additionally this research incorporated case study methods adapted from Yin (1989) to identify the cases and guide the collection and analysis of data. The case study has been defined as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real-life context; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1989, p. 23.)

Although case study designs are often grouped with qualitative research, they differ in two significant ways: 1) they are not limited to observation of some phenomena in a natural setting, and 2) theory development prior to data collection is a necessary step. Yin notes that theory development assists the researcher in planning the research design and collecting the data, and also provides the primary mechanism for generalizing the findings of the case.

Yin (1989) differentiates between "analytic generalization" and the more commonly used "statistical generalization" which involves making an inference "about a population on the basis of empirical data collected about a sample" (p. 38.) Yin (1989) comments that it is a major error to consider statistical generalization as applicable for generalizing the findings of case studies because cases are not "sampling units." He suggests that the researcher select case studies in a manner similar to a laboratory investigator choosing a topic for a new experiment. Yin emphasizes that multiple cases should be treated as multiple experiments or multiple surveys. In this situation the appropriate method of generalization would be analytic generalization "in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed" (p. 38.)

In a multiple case study, the theoretical framework identifies the "conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found (a literal replication) as well as the conditions when it is not likely to be found (a theoretical replication)" (Yin, 1989, p. 54.) Through the process outlined above, the theoretical framework becomes the primary mechanism for generalizing the results of the case study. In this research Mintzberg's (1983a,b) concepts on structure and power were used as the theoretical framework to examine the relationship between changes in the faculty role in governance and the MSA and AAUP in the four colleges. Mintzberg's theory was utilized to assess the colleges' design structures and power configurations in Time 1 in the early 1960's and again in Time 2 in the 1990's.

In order to trace the development of faculty governance it was necessary to examine how it changed over a period of thirty years in the four colleges. The AAUP Committee T "standard" on the faculty role in governance was utilized to assess the governance structures in place at Time 1 and Time 2. The AAUP's Committee T on College and University Government devised "standards" generally accepted in academe on the role of the faculty in the shared governance of academic organizations. These standards, first articulated in 1920 and revised throughout the century summarize significant components of effective faculty participation in the governance of the institution. For example, the AAUP recommended that clearly understood and respected methods of communication should exist between the faculty and the Board of Trustees such as faculty membership on Board committees (Report of Committee T, AAUP Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, Feb. 1977, pp. 32-36.) The 1938 version of these standards was used to assess the colleges in Time 1 in 1960 and the 1966 Joint Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities was used to assess the college governance structures in Time 2 in 1990.

Selection of the Private Colleges

The research was limited to one type of academic institution - private colleges. Institutional size was a factor in the choice of private colleges as the sample for this study. Because of their smaller administrative structure and fewer academic units (schools, divisions and departments), the faculty has more opportunity for contact with the President and the top administrators. The smaller size allows the possibility of meaningful participation in the governance of the institution within the committee structure.

The sampling method in analytic generalization (described above) is purposeful sampling. Cases are chosen to assist in the examination and development of the theory guiding the research (Bogdan and Biklin, 1982, p.67.) The colleges were selected purposefully as having the potential to utilize the conceptual framework that might elucidate the changes in governance in private colleges during these decades. The colleges were chosen after discussion with one current and one former MSA staff

member. The former staff member was knowledgeable about private colleges in the MSA region during much of the historical period. The current staff member was familiar with the status of these institutions in the early 1990's. The researcher also reviewed brief MSA college summaries of all the colleges in this category. These summaries tersely chronicle important recommendations from the Commission on Higher Education to the college since the institutions initial accreditation.

Based on the concept of analytic generalization, consultation with MSA staff members and review of the college summaries, a total of six colleges was chosen. Four colleges were selected where governance issues were identified as a concern during the historical period. These institutions were lower on Baldridge's (1978) continuum and more tuition dependent than the select private colleges. Based on Mintzberg's (1983a,b) theoretical framework, it was likely that the MSA would have affected the development of faculty governance in these institutions over time (a literal replication.) Two select colleges were chosen where governance related issues were not identified as a concern in the MSA summaries and where environmental conditions might not be expected to significantly alter the viability of the institution. It was not likely that the MSA would have affected the development of faculty governance over time (a theoretical replication.)

A letter was sent to the President of each college followed by a phone call two weeks later. Three college presidents and the chief academic officer of the fourth college agreed to include their institutions in the study. Two college administrators refused participation in the study. Of the four colleges that agreed to participate, three had governance issues identified as a concern in the brief MSA summaries and one had not. Since this was consistent with the theoretical premise outlined above, these four colleges comprised the sample for this study. Additionally, in one of the colleges the faculty had unionized. The researcher selected a college where the faculty had negotiated a collective bargaining agreement - a mechanism for strengthening faculty governance introduced during the focal period - to examine long term effects of this process on institutional decision making.

Three of the colleges included in this study are classified as private liberal arts colleges. Some such colleges grant bachelors degrees exclusively, while others grant Masters and doctoral degrees as well. The fourth private college is classified as a comprehensive college. Colleges like this one, although similar to the liberal arts' colleges in many respects, award more than half their degrees in disciplines other than the liberal arts. The colleges examined in this study are located in four different states. This was a selective sampling, partially of convenience, and no attempt was made to provide a geographic sampling within the MSA region. The colleges were selected from a total of 90 private colleges and 130 comprehensive colleges accredited by the MSA in 1991-1992.

Data Collection And Analysis

During the visits to each of the four campuses the following archival records were reviewed:

1. Documents/archival records (1955-1993) pertaining to accreditation such as self-study reports, periodic review reports, reports of the accreditation-site visitors, final reports to the colleges from the Middle States Association regarding reaffirmation of accreditation status, minutes of committees involved in writing the self study reports, minutes from administrative committees and board of trustee meetings regarding accreditation, follow up documentation provided by the college to the Middle States Association in the form of letters or reports, and memoranda, letters or other communiques between the college and the Middle States Association.
2. Documents/archival records (1955-1993) pertaining to college wide and faculty governance structures and processes such as organizational charts of administrative and committee structures, by-laws and minutes of faculty meetings, by-laws and minutes of college wide governance structures, e.g., the College Assembly at Traditional College, minutes of relevant standing committees of these structures, minutes and findings of any task force or consultant that addressed governance related issues and AAUP chapter minutes, letters and other documents.

Additionally, the archives at the MSA in Philadelphia were examined to review the following materials: 1) policy statements and other documents that trace the evolution of the Self-Study process

particularly as it pertained to faculty governance issues during the period between the 1950's and 1990's, and 2) MSA historical records pertaining to the four colleges during the same period. During this period, MSA staff members provided vital insights into the MSA Self-Study process and the relationship between the MSA and member institutions. AAUP records and documents were reviewed from 1915 through 1995 through an examination of publications of the association.

Interviews were conducted with 1) the presidents, deans, and a total of thirty faculty and administrators familiar with governance and/or accreditation at the four colleges and 2) ten experts on accreditation. Interviews were not the primary data collection method. Rather, they were used in conjunction with document analysis. In return for agreeing to participate in the study, the researcher promised confidentiality to the institutions and the participants. Characteristics of the college and the faculty that would aid in identification were withheld.

Data for this study were obtained from documents and interviews. In qualitative research, data collection and analysis is ongoing (Merriam, 1988.) "Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study" (Yin, 1988, p.105.)

Content analysis is used in qualitative studies to analyze documents (Merriam, 1988.) "Essentially content analysis is a systematic procedure for describing the content of communications. Historians... have long used content analysis to analyze historical documents and literary works" (pp. 116-117.) The process of content analysis "involves the simultaneous coding of raw data and constructing categories that capture relevant characteristics of the document's content" (p. 117.) A similar technique is used to analyze data from interviews. The researcher scans the interview data and begins to organize the data into units that will eventually be developed into categories. Devising categories involves looking for themes or patterns in the data. These techniques were used in this research for analysis of the historical and case study data drawn from documents and interviews.

Strategies suggested by Yin (1989) and Miles and Huberman (1984) were employed to strengthen the validity of the study and aid in data analysis including using multiple sources of evidence. This strategy refers to utilizing a variety of sources of evidence for data collection. The advantage of using multiple sources of evidence is "the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation..." (Yin, 1989, p. 97.) Yin suggests that case study findings are stronger if based on various sources of information rather than just one source. Triangulation should strengthen a finding by demonstrating that "independent measures of it agree with it or, at least, don't contradict it" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 234.) The authors suggest that "triangulation is a state of mind" and that if at the outset the researcher carefully double checks findings, and incorporates multiple sources of evidence that the data gathering process and the verification process in an effect dovetail. The use of multiple evidence was incorporated in this study through use of documents, archival data and interviews.

Findings

The findings of this study are presented in the following sections. First, brief overviews of the histories of the four colleges (Elite, Unionized, Traditional and Crisis) developed from analysis of archival data and interviews are introduced. This is followed by an analysis of the faculty governance process in the college case studies using Mintzberg's framework. Additionally, in this section the findings from an examination of AAUP and MSA documents and policy statements and interviews with experts on accreditation are explored.

The Colleges

I question how much time it takes... Governance can kind of eat you up as a faculty member...For an administrator to spend their day in committees that's their job. Our job is to be teachers and researchers. Governance is the third thing. Too often it grows and takes over your whole professional life (Faculty Interview, Elite College, 1993.)

Elite College

The faculty is genuinely powerful at Elite College and power is time consuming
(President of Elite College, 1922-1942)

Elite College is at the high end of the Baldrige's spectrum with select students and strong influential faculty. In the early 1900's these faculty were already emersed in complex tasks such as conducting research and offering doctoral degrees. And although the college had to address financial problems during the historical period, environmental factors have not adversely affected the autonomy of the institution. Faculty governance at Elite College in the years between 1950 and 1990 stands in stark contrast to Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College. There are no comments in MSA Visitors Reports on the need to improve faculty-administrative relations; no history of frantic appeals from faculty to the AAUP for consultation on issues involving academic freedom, tenure and governance. This is not because faculty-administrative relations had been always smooth at Elite but rather because the primary confrontation on faculty governance occurred earlier - shortly after the founding of the AAUP and well before the organization of the MSA Commission on Higher Education.

The Elite College faculty who staged the revolt voiced many of the same concerns that led to the founding of the AAUP. The governance structure created at Elite in 1916 was characteristic of the governance structures in place at the best colleges and universities of the period (Bulletin of the AAUP, 1915-1925.) The form of governance approved by the Board of Trustees gave faculty control over the curriculum, the right to establish and elect committees and faculty representation on the Board (Rules of the Faculty, Elite College, 1917.) The college established one of the earliest local chapters of the AAUP. Some faculty assumed leadership positions and were elected to the national standing committees of the AAUP. Elite College, proportionately for its size, had as many faculty members elected to the AAUP - a very selective organization in its early years - as the best universities of the period including Columbia, Harvard and Johns Hopkins (Bulletin of the AAUP, 1915-1925.)

Unlike the other faculties in the case studies that made significant changes in their governance structure, Elite's structure remained remarkably intact. The influence of one committee - the Committee on Appointments - retained its significance into the 1990's. It was not until 1988 that another committee was established that both the faculty and president identified as equally important - the Committee on Academic Priorities (CAP.) This committee is charged with oversight on matters pertaining to academic programs and priorities. The confidence that the faculty and the President have in the governance structure and more significantly the obvious respect of each for the other make Elite's governance system appear exemplary when contrasted with the other colleges in the 1990's.

What emerged from this analysis was a faculty governance structure that works very well. All of those interviewed on campus in 1993 commented that Elite faculty have a more significant governance role than faculty at other institutions. In 1960, at the start of the focal period of this study, the Elite faculty had a long-established and meaningful role in the governance of the institution through the Plan of Government and Faculty By-Laws enacted in 1916. The influence of the AAUP was significant in the establishment of this original governance structure. Over time, the Committee on Appointments evolved a role beyond the scope of the Plan of Government becoming an effective decision-making body of the faculty and an advisory committee to the President. Most importantly the process that evolved in the Committee on Appointments provided a mechanism for the development of effective faculty - administrative decision making. Lastly, early faculty representation on the Board of Trustees maintained mutual respect between the faculty and the Board. As one faculty member stated in an interview - when there are substantive issues, the faculty write directly to the Board (Faculty Interview, 1993.) Another former Secretary of the Faculty identified the real benefit of faculty membership on the Board:

Its the Boards feeling that they are in touch with faculty sentiment ... and the faculty's feeling that they have watchdogs on the Board ... Watchdogs checking on the President. The President should not be the only person who represents the institution to the Board - the President and other members of the administration. The faculty should know what is being reported to the Board and what actions are taken on the basis of what kind of information... So the Board asks faculty members that attend for their input (Faculty Interview, 1993.)

This former Secretary of the Faculty also pointed out that the faculty tried to elect "a scientist, a social scientist and a humanist" to the Board thereby providing various points of view. She observed that over time many faculty had the opportunity to serve on the Board and become acquainted with the members and would feel comfortable speaking with them informally on issues after their term had ended. As she put it - faculty membership has been extremely helpful in maintaining good faculty - Board relations.

Clearly the defining issue from the 1970's through the 1990's and the impetus for the change in the faculty governance structure has been maintaining the financial equilibrium of the college. The faculty responded in much the same fashion to this issue, as they had in the early 1900's to the issue of faculty tenure and control of the curriculum. The faculty built on the strengths contained in the Plan of Government and Faculty By-Laws and constructed a Committee to address the financial crisis. The resulting Committee on Academic Priorities (CAP) successfully duplicated (with the full support of the administration) the process of the "model committee" - the Committee on Appointments. In the 1990's the faculty are in the process of defining the scope of responsibilities of the Committee on Academic Priorities "charged with the maintenance of the academic health and vigor of the college" (General Faculty Meeting Minutes, April 18, 1990.)

As expected, the Middle States Association exerted minimal influence on the changes in faculty governance structures historically at Elite. The faculty found it unnecessary to appeal to an external influencer to affect changes in their governance structures since they were powerful enough "internal influencers" to effect changes in their By - Laws without external support. Did the faculty utilize the MSA Self-Study process to assess the adequacy of their governance structure in the institution? An examination of the three MSA Self-Studies and one Case Study dating from the 1950's through 1990's and a comparison with faculty records, minutes, interviews etc. confirm that they did. The 1968 MSA Case Study document on the faculty was a particularly insightful analysis of the faculty position at Elite.

In interviews in 1993, faculty (even though they were very active in faculty governance and two were on MSA committees) denied any real involvement in the MSA Self-Study process. The faculty commented that its effect on governance at Elite was minimal. They did not convey an understanding of the value of the Self-Study process or a sense that it could be useful to them in any way. One commented "What you're trying to do with Middle States is get accredited. Put the best face on things and get it done" (Faculty Interview, 1993.)

Its important to note that MSA has generally been very positive in its Reports (1950's through 1980's) to the institution. Nor has Elite been asked to submit any Follow-Up Reports to MSA. Elite's administration and Board had identified financial concerns and commissioned two studies prior to the MSA Self-Study process in the 1970's and 1980's. In the 1977 and 1988 MSA Self-Studies, the institution was then able to discuss how identified financial problems were being addressed by the institution. So in terms of the MSA Self-Study process, Elites' response was appropriate. A former MSA staff members observation that institutions may initiate changes in their institutions in anticipation of the Self-Study process appears to be applicable here.

Also as expected the influence of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) since the 1960's on changes in faculty governance structures has been negligible. In fact at Elite its the President rather than the faculty that consults with AAUP. The President noted that:

We have relied on the AAUP ourselves quite extensively. When I've had personnel issues I've always reviewed the possible strategies for action and response with the AAUP and found them extraordinarily helpful and I have let the faculty know that I do that (1993 Interview.)

The enviable advantages in their governance role that Elite faculty possess over faculty at other institutions are: a clear Plan of Government and Faculty By - Laws that identify faculty rights and responsibilities; the apparent respect of the Board and administration; and a history of strong faculty leadership working cooperatively with Presidents and administrators who defer to the governance structure. A comment by the President supports this observation. "There are few decisions that I would take without a great deal of consultation with faculty leadership and with the obvious standing committees of the faculty" (1993 Interview.) Lee (1991) noted the importance an administrations' using the committee structure. The Presidents' deferring to the committee structure at Elite strengthened the effectiveness of the faculty's voice in the institution.

When asked how she would characterize the faculty governance role the President observed that: After 1916... the faculty was rewarded a great deal of responsibility for the development of policy and the running of the institution and they have had it ever since and it has been thought to be a very strong point in the health of this institution... With the faculty in this kind of position in the institution you would think that its a very hard place to be an administrator. In fact it is my experience talking with my colleagues in a great number of institutions of different sorts the relationship with this administration and this faculty is more cordial and constructive than any I know (1993 Interview.)

Unionized College

Unionized College moved upward along Baldrige's continuum during the focal period. Historically, it began as a community college with a very strong administration, weak faculty and a less select student body. It successfully addressed significant financial problems and diversified. By the 1990's, the college offered some Masters programs and faculty were engaged in research and scholarly activities. Although the faculty role was strengthened with changes in the governance structure and the union, the faculty and the administrative continue an ongoing battle for "influence" in the institution.

The faculty revolt at Unionized College began in the 1960's. After years of conflict with an authoritarian President, the faculty turned to their AAUP Chapter for direction. Within ten years they had established one of the first collective bargaining units in a private college. Although there are obvious economic benefits for faculty in collective bargaining, such benefits are generally not cited as the primary reason for unionization. After having conducted a representative study of American colleges and universities, Baldrige et al., (1978) concluded that faculty formed unions for two reasons: 1) to develop increased faculty participation in colleges that never had a strong tradition of faculty governance, and 2) to maintain their role in governance if they were then being challenged. In a smaller study Lee (1979) examined six four-year institutions, both public and private, whose faculty had unionized prior to 1974 and found that "respondents in all six institutions confirmed that the desire for substantial participation in academic governance was, in each case, the primary motive for unionization" (p. 570.)

The history of Unionized College chronicles the events leading to a collective bargaining agreement in a private college and the faculty's dramatic appeals to both the MSA and the AAUP. Following unionization, the faculty developed a modified "dual track" form of governance system with both a Faculty Council and the union (Kemerer and Baldrige, 1981.)

Beginning with the 1959 Self-Study and continuing through the 1980's the faculty routinely relied on the power of an external influencer particularly the MSA, the AAUP and state organizations, to further their goals in the institution. They have been successful to a great extent as evidenced by a comparison between the faculty governance role in 1960 and 1990.

The Faculty Council By-Laws and the Association Agreement provide the structure and processes for effective participation. However, the faculty are still affected by the decades of mistrust under three authoritarian Presidents. Only since the 1980's have the faculty begun to gain a sense of confidence; nevertheless they are still relatively new at self-government. Many are clearly discouraged by their perception that the President does not use the governance structure.

A comment in the 1986 Visitor's Report sums up the situation:

Although there is much talk - by both groups - about poor relations, lack of communications, mistrust, etc., we believe there has been significant improvement and, in fact, things are better now than either side wishes to acknowledge (Visitors Report, 1986.)

In 1992 the President announced his retirement for the end of the academic year. When asked to comment on governance, he stressed his belief in collaborative governance in spite of the fact that it is frequently frustrating and maddeningly slow:

I think that maintaining institution wide collegial governance is one of the most difficult things in the world because the modern university is made up of so many self- interested groups that spin off in all directions... it's a microcosm of the wider society. This is very dismaying to me because I come out of a tradition where the university is supposed to be a community... Because there is no set of common values in American colleges and universities... the modern institution is struggling to find out what is important and without that it makes governance on an institution wide basis very difficult if not impossible. So when you throw into that equation collective bargaining, not just on the part of the faculty but on the part of the secretaries... and everyone else, you have one heck of a situation. It's like trying to govern New York City and the students are the ones that come up short. Given all of those difficulties, we've made reasonable progress (Interview, 1992.)

In 1992 the faculty were involved in the process of choosing a new President. The Board of Trustees asked the Executive Committee of the Faculty Council to propose nine members. From this list, three were chosen to serve on the Search Committee. The union had asked for a representative on the committee and although their request was denied one of the appointed faculty was active in union affairs (Interview with the President, 1992.) The faculty felt that they had an appropriate role in the selection process (1993 Faculty Interviews.) They were very favorably impressed with the new candidate (the fifth president since the 1959 MSA Self-Study and the first woman) and optimistically looking forward to working with a yet another new President.

Almost all of the recommendations written by the faculty in the 1959 MSA Self-Study were implemented in the college by 1993. Perhaps because many of these changes were resisted by different Presidents, a lack of trust in the administration persists. Most significant of all is the concern that the governance structures in place are not utilized by the President.

Given the gradual positive turn of events in governance in the 1980's and a new President, the 1990's may provide opportunity for a more effective faculty governance role at the college.

Traditional College

The faculty has lost faith in the institutional future...they feel that no one has a clear vision of that future. In our opinion, they must help create that vision or it will never exist (MSA Visitors Report, 1977).

Founded in the later half of the nineteenth century the college viewed itself as a select institution with a reference group of ivy league schools (Report on the Future of the College, 1969; 1982 Periodic Review Report for the MSA). However, environmental factors such as enrollment shortfalls, financial

problems and changes in administrative versus faculty influence, places it further down Baldrige's continuum during most of the focal period.

Beginning in the late 1960's the college found it increasingly difficult to attract a sufficient number of academically well prepared students. Enrollment shortfalls gradually eroded the financial strength of the institution. Faculty positions were cut in the 1970's and 1980's. Over the years, the faculty and the President gradually assumed adversarial positions. The faculty appealed to the AAUP and to the MSA through the Self-Study for assistance with governance and tenure problems in the institution.

In the 1980's after years of cost-cutting measures, the faculty reacted to the failure in leadership in the Presidency. They drafted the Traditional College Plan to revitalize the mission of the college while maintaining the essential character including the "traditional commitment to the liberal arts" (Traditional College Plan, June, 1990.) The college was given the name Traditional College because the faculty's determination to maintain the traditional mission of the institution provided direction for the institution at the crucial point in its history.

Faculty Governance at Traditional College changed considerably in the decades between the 1960's and the 1990's. In 1960, at the start of the focal period, the faculty controlled the "academics" with a simple governance structure that granted faculty primary responsibility for the academic committees with considerable administrative oversight.

In response to nationwide changes in campus governance in the 1970's, the college altered the governance structure to involve all constituencies particularly students in the academic decision making process. The creation and implementation of the tripartite College Assembly structure was a reflection of the concerns of the times. The faculty were typical of other faculties in that the College Assembly structure was dismantled as student interest in governance issues on their campus waned.

Traditional College was also typical of liberal arts colleges between 1960 and 1980- although in an unenviable way - in the financial problems it encountered in relation to changing student academic interests and enrollment shortfalls. The installation of a new President in the early 1970's occurred as the college was beginning to identify the extent of this "financial crisis". The President had served as a faculty member and Dean at the college before assuming the Presidency. Over a period of years as the financial picture deteriorated the President became more authoritarian in dealing with the faculty. Gradually the President and faculty assumed adversarial positions with a resulting decline in faculty morale. The faculty's drafting of the Traditional College Plan in the 1980's was a direct response to their perception of a failure of leadership in the Presidency and their determination to prevent faculty from being sacrificed to ease the financial problems. The purpose of the plan was to revitalize the mission of the college while maintaining the essential character including the "traditional commitment to the liberal arts" (T.C. Plan 1990).

The MSA Self-Study process provided the mechanism for the faculty to evaluate the effectiveness of their governance structure and the relationship between the faculty and administration in the institutional decision-making process. The governance section of the 1977 MSA Self-Study that examined alternative organizational theory models was reflective of the political savvy of the faculty. Based on an "authority/power model" the faculty concluded that power and authority were centralized in the administration and Board of Trustees and suggested that the By-Laws be revised "so that faculty power is increased through changes in its authority" (MSA Self-Study, 1977.) This model, which viewed the administrative centralization of power as unacceptable to the faculty, prevailed over time.

During the next fifteen years the faculty implemented several of the suggestions of the 1977 Self-Study including the establishment of the position of faculty chair and the return of the control of the curriculum to the faculty. The faculty were unable to implement another suggestion (i.e. faculty membership on the Board of Trustees) although they were successful in getting faculty representation on the standing committees of the Board (MSA Self-Study, 1977.) Because standing committees of the Board carry out much of the actual work of the Board, representation on these committees is important.

Some of the faculty interviewed in 1992 down played the role of the MSA. These faculty members viewed the MSA as unduly supportive of the administration and not active enough in "forcing" the President to make changes. In spite of these perceptions an extensive review of faculty committee minutes and faculty interviews revealed that the faculty did use the MSA Self-Study process particularly in 1977 and 1988. As part of the process the faculty examined the governance structure and identified changes needed to strengthen it. Then they made revisions in the structure and process of governance over a period of years. The MSA provided ongoing support by addressing the governance issue in its Visitors Reports and by requesting that the institution submit a progress report that discussed governance in 1990. The MSA supported the faculty perception that governance concerns were legitimate specifically in the 1977 and 1988 Visitors Reports.

It would be erroneous to imply that the Self-Studies served as a blueprint or model for all faculty on how the governance structure should be revised; this was clearly not the case. The collective faculty apparently does not possess a memory of governance issues at their institution over time. Faculty at Traditional College moved in and out of committee positions as faculty do in other colleges and many faculty were not involved in the MSA Self-Study process. However several key faculty players who were important in designing and implementing changes in the governance structure were also actively involved in the 1977 and/or 1988 Self-Studies process.

The faculty also made use of a second external agency-the AAUP although to a lesser degree than they relied on MSA. The faculty use of the AAUP was summed up by a faculty member who noted that the faculty only turned to the AAUP in times of crisis, as it had with the tenure concerns. Another faculty member noted discussion on reactivating the AAUP after a faculty member was denied tenure in 1992 (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

By the 1990's "academics matters" were firmly in the hands of the faculty. The revised and strengthened 1990's governance structure clearly articulated faculty responsibilities in academic areas. The significant changes that were made in the structures and processes of faculty governance occurred as the faculty defined their functions in the institution. The evolution over three decades of the functions of the faculty identified in the Faculty Legislation are illustrated below:

FUNCTIONS OF THE FACULTY *

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1958 | No faculty functions identified in the Faculty Legislation. |
| 1973 | The faculty shall recommend candidates for degrees and for fellowships, may make recommendations on matters of appropriate professional concern, and may act on such other matters of academic concern as the President may lay before it (Faculty Legislation, 1973.) |
| 1990 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Faculty shall recommend candidates for degrees and for fellowships and may make recommendations on matters of appropriate professional concern. 2. The Faculty shall pass legislation on academic policy and in other areas of concern to the college community. These shall include the areas considered by the Executive and Standing Committees of the Faculty. 3. All legislative proposals presented to and in the Faculty shall ordinarily be referred to committee for study and investigation, hearings as appropriate, and report ...prior to legislative consideration ... 4. Legislative proposals shall be submitted in writing and in advance of that meeting where they will be presented. Such proposals shall be submitted to the Executive Committee. 5. The Faculty may adopt recommendatory resolutions, but not legislation, on subjects within the jurisdiction of the Board of Trustees, the President of the College, the Students Organization, or the Alumnae Association. Any such adopted resolution shall be forwarded in letter of transmittal by the Secretary of the Faculty to the person or agency concerned for consideration (Faculty Legislation, 1990.) |

* Faculty Legislation - 1958, 1973, 1990

The five functions of the 1990 Faculty Legislation illustrate how the faculty perception of their role evolved. The first function was the identified faculty role in the 1970's and 1980's. Functions 2 through 4 reflected the faculty's determination to control the "academic" process in the institution. The fifth function illustrated the faculty's recognition that they also have a broader responsibility in the institution. The faculty took functions numbers 2 through 5 from the functions of the College Assembly when it was dissolved in 1989.

Whether the faculty would have acted so decisively in strengthening their functions without the impetus of an ongoing financial crisis is uncertain. The faculty never seriously considered collective bargaining to increase their governance role in the institution. Rather they focused their energies on controlling the mission of the institution. A former chairperson of the faculty stated that it required "extraordinary times" to ignite the faculty to action (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

In campus interviews faculty were asked to identify ongoing governance problems and faculty concerns. In spite of recent progress faculty were pessimistic about the future. Several problems were identified, including personnel problems regarding reappointment, promotion, tenure and problems related to the budget and planning process (Faculty Interviews, 1992.) The denial of tenure to a faculty member whom faculty had judged tenurable by the faculty committee had occurred just prior to interviews with faculty in 1992. One faculty member summed up faculty feelings as follows:

Most faculty are convinced I think. Faculty - when it comes to the real issues - is powerless. The Board will accept the President's and the Dean's recommendation regardless of whether its consistent with the Committee on the faculty's part - which they just did. Therefore faculty - non tenured people - really believe that its "willie nellie" whether they get tenure or not. The merits of their case will not be looked at. So that's a pretty serious issue - when faculty think that their own committee, their own department recommendations, their colleague recommendations, the peer review, is not going to be the determining factor in whether they get tenure (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

In a 1992 interview the President agreed that in the recent case that although a faculty member had received departmental and committee recommendations, the Dean and President had not accepted these recommendations and that tenure had been denied. The President stated that the faculty member had initiated grievance procedures (1992 Interview.)

The President recalled that in the 1970's any faculty member regardless of their "stellar qualities" was denied if granting tenure would result in a "fully tenured department" (Interviews, 1992.)

Additionally, the President had recently announced that as faculty left or retired, their positions would be replaced by faculty with one year appointments rather than tenure track appointments. One faculty member identified a Board member as instrumental in encouraging this administrative position on tenure. Although the President has announced plans to step down within the year, the faculty member was pessimistic that even with a new President and Dean the current position on tenure could be maintained if it had strong support from the Board. This likelihood had apparently contributed to poor faculty morale as faculty were concerned about the effect of one year appointments on their ability to maintain and strengthen academic departments. These observations were supported by comments from other faculty (Faculty Interviews, 1992.)

The faculty member was concerned that this decision had been imposed unilaterally on the tenuring process. If the percentage of tenured positions was to be decreased then it should have been a community decision and published so that everyone was aware of the consequences (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

Another faculty member observed that the faculty believes that in the face of a financial crisis faculty positions are cut rather than exploring other options. The President had stated that the endowment would not be used for faculty salaries.

This bothers us because we see the endowment constantly growing. Some of us who

have become cynical want to know whether the endowment is here to serve us or we are here to serve the endowment... We think maybe we should burn candles and lay flowers at the feet of the endowment (Faculty Interview 1992.)

When asked to comment on the status of faculty governance at Traditional College, one faculty member stated that:

I think that in some respects a lot of the machinery is in place to do effective governance and to have a more cooperative, a more collegial type of operation. But it hasn't happened. The links to connect the governance structure to the actual decision making process at the higher level-those links do not exist. At this point it looks as though the faculty and its committees operate in one sphere and the administration in another with very little cross over between the two or at least very little meaningful dialogue or discussion takes place. What we would like to see is a governance system where people are courted mutual respect and are working toward common goals and are looking for ways to make things happen. This is simply not the case (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

A former chairperson of the faculty summed up the current status of the faculty governance role as follows:

It is so improved from five years ago before the formation of the Executive Council. Before that there was literally no faculty involvement in decision making, planning and setting priorities. And now at least there's a contest in those issues. The agency of the Faculty Chair was well thought out by faculty. The faculty were very frustrated with the direction of the college and the decision making of the administration. The administration and faculty of that era looked at each other with disdain. When that was finally coupled in an alarming way with the projections of deficit enrollment the faculty really became so alarmed and so energized. In essence, it was a revolt - very restrained. That makes it sound contradictory - a very professional revolt. Things are much better now. The faculty states opinion for example and when stated they have the full backing of the faculty. That never happened before. The faculty was never an independently operating agency. Before faculty meeting agendas were set up according to administration. So we heard lots of reports. But now we do business. We generate statements. We generate our revisions. So its a completely different situation (Faculty Interview, 1992.)

Crisis College

As in all small colleges, the effectiveness of the faculty organization is largely a matter of personalities, the rapport with the administration, mutual respect, and political know-how (Faculty Member, 1963 Self-Study for the MSA.)

Notwithstanding its place as an old and established institution, Crisis College is farthest down on Baldrige's continuum. The college had to address the most severe environmental factors of the four colleges during the focal period including two particularly austere financial intervals. Two presidents with authoritarian leadership styles vied with the faculty for influence in the institution. By the 1990's the faculty perceived their own position in the college vis-a-vis the administration as very weak and turned to several outside influencers to strengthen their governance role.

The revolt at Crisis College began in the 1980's and continued into the 1990's. Unlike the faculty at Elite, Unionized and Traditional who staged successful revolts and then moved on, the long term outcome for the faculty at Crisis College remains unclear.

The relationship historically between the faculty and their Presidents helped shape the crisis in the 1990's. Years of dealing with autocratic Presidents led to faculty appeals to several "external influencers" particularly the AAUP and the MSA. The faculty revolt at Crisis culminated in an

unsuccessful attempt at unionization. In this case it appears as a desperate appeal by the faculty for assistance to an external influencer.

The successful negotiation of a collective bargaining agreement by Unionized College faculty in the early 1970's and the unsuccessful attempt by Crisis College faculty twenty years later was due to the changes in laws that occurred during this period. The issue of collective bargaining is complicated by the fact that different laws govern a college's ability to unionize. Private institutions are governed by federal law under the National Labor Relations Act while public institutions are covered under individual state laws. The 1960's and 1970's saw many changes in state laws as enabling legislation was passed that allowed faculty members in public institutions to unionize. During the 1960's and 1970's private colleges could have unionized under the provisions of the National Labor Relation Act (Baldrige et al., 1978.)

Some private colleges, such as Unionized College, did negotiate collective bargaining agreements during this period, but most did not. Crisis College faculty, for example, did not consider this alternative in the 1970's. Like the Unionized College faculty, they were dealing with an autocratic President; however, the Crisis College faculty in the 1960's and 1970's had not yet developed to a point where they could consider such alternatives. Years of conflict with an authoritarian President and the strengthening of the Faculty Executive Committee (FEC) in the 1990's enabled the faculty to take a unified stance and a vote of no confidence in the President. Nevertheless, the governance structure still is "controlled" to a large degree by the administration. The Dean, for example, is a member of the FEC. Faculty do not conduct faculty meetings without administrators in attendance. The Dean chairs the faculty meetings.

There are many parallels between the Crisis College faculty in the 1990's and the Unionized faculty in the 1960's in the similarity of their developmental stage in faculty governance - including the pattern of appeals to external influencers to obtain more autonomy for the faculty in the institution.

In 1980 the Supreme Court ruled that faculty at Yeshiva University were managerial employees and therefore ineligible to unionize for the purpose of collective bargaining (Begin and Lee, 1987.) The Yeshiva decision has been a deterrent to the unionization of private colleges throughout the 1990's. Although some attempts at unionization have been successful since the Yeshiva decision, others attempts, such as the one at Crisis College, failed. The history of Crisis College depicts a faculty that did not achieve control over policies that affect faculty. It is clear that this faculty is still evolving as a corporate entity. Whether this revolt will result in a "successful" attempt at unionization at a later date - or in another manner entirely - remains unclear. It is apparent in the histories of the four colleges that it often takes years or even decades and a change in Presidents for faculties to achieve an autonomous governance structure with the approval of the College Board of Trustees. The intangibles at Crisis College, such as the poor morale and apparent lack of respect existing between the faculty and the President, are perhaps the most unsettling legacies for the institution and provide insight into the process of conflict that occurs as faculty attempt to define their governance role in an institution.

The relationship between the faculty and the three presidents who guided the college during the focal period from the late 1950's through the 1990's was a primary influence on the evolution of the faculty governance structure. When asked a question about a governance-related issue, it was not unusual for faculty and administrators to answer the question by contrasting a situation with what it was like under a former President. The three Presidents are identified by names their faculty used to describe them: The Authoritarian President, the Collegial President and the Business-Oriented President. In many ways they have defined and continue to define how the faculty view their role in the institution. These relationships form an important component of this case history (Faculty/Administrator Interviews, 1992-1993).

Historically the institution returned to prosperity under the Authoritarian President, suffered financial reverses under the Collegial President and once again returned to solvency under the Business Oriented President. Some of these financial reverses were linked to national trends such as the arrival of

the baby-boomers or the decline of that population as well as numerous other factors. Small private colleges were especially vulnerable since a decrease in enrollment quickly leads to a decline in revenues in tuition driven institutions with small endowments. Many on campus tied the financial issues more to Presidential leadership rather than the effect of national trends on the college at different points in time.

Some of those interviewed stressed that the Business Oriented President and the leadership of the Board of Trustees have a business rather than a collegial perspective on how to run the college. One person observed that "what they have done very successfully over the last five years is to put the college on a business model" (Faculty Interviews, 1992-1993.)

This traditional bureaucratic model differs significantly from Mintzberg's professional bureaucracy where the faculty in the professional core have control over the work that they do and input into the decision making process on an institutional level. Additionally, just prior to this administration, the faculty had ten years under a Collegial President where they were actively involved in the decision-making process as in a professional bureaucracy. However during this period there were concerns about the leadership of the President and more significantly the college suffered financial and enrollment losses. The concept of a professional bureaucracy with a more collegial approach to leadership has apparently been associated with financial mismanagement. One person articulated this point. "Leadership has gotten translated into this notion that you have to strong arm people. There is a difference between authority and leadership but it seems our Trustees think authority is the way things should work" (Faculty Interviews, 1992-1993.)

The faculty observation is supported historically with the numerous MSA requested Follow Up Reports and Visitors Reports that specifically addressed the faculty governance role in the institution. The MSA process was especially active in the late 1970's after the retirement of the Authoritarian President, and continued through the Follow-Up Reports and the PRR of the late 1980's. The faculty used the MSA Self-Study process to examine their governance role in the institution specifically in 1963 and 1983. Following the 1963 evaluation the President was removed from the faculty committees and the Faculty Executive Committee (FEC) was established.

The faculty never drafted By-Laws for the faculty with separate committees and membership and duties controlled by the faculty. It's significant that the Dean continues as a member of the FEC the "leadership" committee for the faculty into the 1990's. Although the President noted in a 1992 interview that the faculty were trying to get the administrators off the committees. The Dean, President and several administrators have always attended faculty meetings. The Authoritarian President had chaired the Faculty Meetings. The Collegial President had chaired the meetings for a short period and then turned them over to the Chair of the FEC. The Business Oriented President had been opening the meetings and making brief "remarks" on different topics. In 1992 the remarks were often followed with counter remarks from the faculty. In the Fall 1992 semester following the vote of no confidence, the FEC told the President that his remarks were setting a negative tone to the meetings. The President then stated that he wanted to Chair the meetings of the faculty (the right is stipulated in college by-laws) but turned the responsibility over to the Dean who then chaired the entire meeting. Many faculty were not happy with this arrangement because they noted that the Dean wanted to both Chair the meeting and participate in the discussions. One faculty stated that the action was an example of the President's statement that if you want input "you'll have to pay the consequences" (Faculty Interview, 1992-1993.)

In an effort to obtain more control on campus the faculty appealed to several outside organizations i.e. the NEA, the NLRB for the right to engage in collective bargaining and to the AAUP to censure the college. Their actions were very similar to Unionized College in the late 1960's and early 1970's. However following the 1980 Yeshiva decision the Crisis College faculty were unsuccessful. There is the possibility that they may try again to appeal to the NLRB or appeal to the MSA for assistance as part of the self-study process.

The researcher sensed a genuine fear on the part of some of the faculty for their futures on this campus. Others were more optimistic noting that "he can't fire all 60 of us". Although one faculty

member with a moderate perspective on campus issues observed that one thing that was likely to occur was that the "faculty leaders" would not receive any (or small amounts) of the anticipated 10% merit raises. They will show them "by pocket" that "they either cooperate or shut-up." This observation was shared by all of the faculty who commented on the merit raises. This lack of trust was a frequent theme in faculty conversations about the administration (Faculty Interviews, 1992-1993.)

When faculty were asked about the resolution of the current crisis in the college the answers varied. One hoped that the AAUP would mediate the conflict between the faculty and the President; another thought that the Board of Trustees would retain the President through the major fund drive then find "a face saving way to replace him". Many were pessimistic stating that "it will get worse" or even if the President should leave the Board would hire a President with a similar leadership style (Faculty Interviews, 1992-1993.)

When asked about the outcome of the problems on campus the President said it would require a long period of time to resolve. He said that the AAUP investigation of the campus was bringing in some light to the faculty from the outside world. He said that the AAUP visitors had commented positively on the increased enrollment, the ten percent raise and the improved quality of the student body. He said that the AAUP visitors had commented "that other schools are going belly up and asked why aren't the faculty happy. Don't they read the Chronicle of Higher Education"? The President responded that they don't. "This is an inwardly focused group". The President observed that whether the college was censured or not "the two visitors from the AAUP are an innovation. They are saying to faculty you've got it pretty good here". He also noted that according to the findings of the NLRB that he is not making decisions regarding teaching, course offerings, etc.:

The faculty decides those things. The faculty have committees with budgets that make the final decisions on what arts events come here and so forth. They don't just make recommendations. That's the model they want for the whole college of course. But this one is extreme, you're not going to see anything like this. You're not going to see a faculty like this anywhere else in terms of their insatiable craving to run the organization (Interview with the President, 1992.)

One faculty member said that the faculty are afraid of "prerogatives being taken away from them; of being left out of the important decisions so that small matters become huge matters":

The faculty not only teach for long periods of time, they provide the continuity, the stability. They probably will be here longer than most administrators will be here. And that's why their attitude towards the college, toward the direction of the college is vital. I think its a mistake not to involve them over and above the curriculum, in the mission and direction of the college. The faculty are the core of the college and what ever they do must be done in a positive sense because they want to do it rather than because they must do it. Therefore everything they're involved in they must be sufficiently involved in so that the program is perceived as there's at least in part rather than someone else. Theoretically anything else is going to be done half heartedly, if its done half heartedly it can't be done well (Faculty Interview, 1992-1993.)

The AAUP investigators that visited the college concluded that although the structure for governance was in place there was little evidence of collegiality or shared responsibility for governance between the President and the faculty. The AAUP investigators stressed that the faculty and the President would have to resolve their animosity toward each other in order to make any progress toward shared governance. They noted that the administration had improved the financial picture but been unable to unite the various constituencies. The investigators charged the Trustees with responsibility for promoting trust and collaboration between the various groups. At the conclusion of the case, the two parties are attempting to reconcile their difference. The AAUP Committee T is using the "weapon of publicity" in this case. The results of the investigation was published and updates on the progress between the two groups will also be published until the issue is resolved (Publications of the AAUP, 1990-1995.)

Analysis of the Faculty Role in Governance

Using Mintzberg's framework, the research questions are addressed in the following section beginning with the ways that the external influencers (the MSA and the AAUP) influenced organizational behavior. This is followed by an examination of the ways that the internal influencers (the faculty and presidents) altered the dynamics in the organization. The section concludes with an analysis of the design structures, power configurations and governance structures present in the colleges in Time 1 (late 1950's) and Time 2 (1990's).

External Influencers

What was the process by which certain "external influencers" (the MSA and the AAUP) attempted to exercise their power to effect changes in decision making structures? Analysis of the historical data from the AAUP, the MSA and the four case studies revealed the following: First, that the policies and/or procedures of the professional associations during the focal period supported the faculty's efforts to assume a greater role in the governance of the institution in several significant ways. Second that specific policies and/or procedures of each association were modified during the historical period. These changes strengthened the real or potential influence of the association over the institution. The analysis of the MSA role will be presented first followed by the AAUP. The observation that Mintzberg's (1983a) direct controls through direct access was the method of influence utilized by the MSA to exert influence in the organization was supported by the examination of the MSA archival data, interviews with former MSA Professional Staff and Team Chairpersons and analysis of the college case study data. Mintzberg (1983a) observed that because of their direct access to the internal influencers, the external influencer can advise decision makers on issues of concern. He notes that this communication is often synonymous to control.

The MSA Commission on Higher Education exerts influence on the institution throughout the self-study process. Direct communication occurs between the President and/or delegate usually the chief academic officer and the MSA Professional Staff. The Team Chairperson communicates with the administration prior to the visit and the Visiting Team members converse during the visit. The follow-up process can extend this interactive period indefinitely until changes are made in the institution to the satisfaction of the Commission on Higher education. The administration of an institution was motivated to comply with the process since accreditation by a regional association was mandatory for students to qualify for various forms of federal aid throughout the focal period. These funds were a significant source of revenue for the tuition driven private institutions.

The MSA Characteristics of Excellence (1994) presents the standard for institutions to emulate as they begin the self-study process. A second MSA document the Designs for Excellence Handbook for Institutional Self-Study (1991) outlines the process and delineates the roles of college constituencies in the self-study process. Both of these documents are used by all parties in the conduct of an MSA self-study, i.e., the Commission on Higher education, the MSA Professional Staff, the administrators, faculty and staff of the institution completing the study and the Visiting Team chosen by the MSA to conduct the evaluation visit. These documents addressed the faculty governance role in the institution and supported the concept of academic freedom.

The role of the Professional Staff as the representative of the Commission of Higher education is important throughout the self-study process. The MSA Professional Staff Member is knowledgeable about the institution's accreditation history, has final say in the type of self-study conducted by the institution and selects the members of the Visiting Team. The Staff Member has contact with the college administration - often the President - prior to the start of the self-study and ongoing contact with the administration during the process. If the Visiting Team and the Commission recommend a follow up process such as additional reports and or special team visits, it is the Professional Staff Member who monitors the ongoing process and orients and selects the members of the special visiting teams. The role of the Professional Staff Member remained consistent between the 1960's and the 1990's.

Seven college presidents with extensive backgrounds as chairs of MSA Visiting Teams were asked to comment on the typical contacts between the administration and faculty and the Team during a site visit. The chairpersons of MSA Visiting Teams stated that they did communicate personally with decision makers in the institution during the site visit about issues that concerned them. The chairpersons discussed the importance of meeting with the president and other administrators to discuss aspects of the Self-Study. They noted that the visit provided an opportunity for faculty to discuss issues pertaining to governance with the team. The chairpersons also commented that faculty may bring issues to the attention of the Team that the administration would prefer not to discuss with the Team. One chairperson noted that this always happens and that it is a good and healthy part of the process. Another noted that if there is a bad situation on campus that people will express apprehension about talking about issues. Another noted that most faculty feel comfortable talking with the team but that it can "backfire" for the faculty because some faculty are reluctant to say anything negative for fear that the Team will think poorly of the college.

The comments of the chairpersons supported the idea that the MSA does exert influence over the organization. For example, one chairperson stated that colleges seem to take the MSA guidelines seriously observing that as MSA moved more toward emphasizing planning, outcomes and the like so have colleges moved in that direction. The colleges moved in that direction not only because it was a good idea to do that but in responding to "the pressure of the MSA" (Interviews with Team Chairpersons, 1992).

A significant change in the MSA accrediting procedure during the focal period was the introduction of the Periodic Review Report in 1973. This report was required every five years midway in the ten year cycle. The institution had to respond to the recommendations from the prior self-study and discuss changes since the last evaluation (Periodic Review Policy, Commission on Higher Education, MSA, 1977). This requirement involved some participation from college constituencies and therefore succeeded in involving faculty in ongoing planning. The institution in responding to MSA Team Visitors concerns usually identified a plan to address the problems or reported on progress to date in addressing issues of concern. This was useful in addressing concerns related to the faculty role in the governance of the institution. It forced the president to pay attention to the issues and involve the faculty in the process. The PRR was more effective in that respect than the Follow-Up Reports which were often generated by the administration with little or no involvement from any constituency including the faculty.

The second "external influencer" examined in this research was the AAUP. The AAUP exercised power to effect changes in decision making structures and processes in a variety of ways. Specifically between the 1960's and 1990's the AAUP published most of its policy statements including the 1966 Joint Statement on Government, and expanded the services available for faculty at the state and local level. Lastly, Committee T fully adopted the use of what Mintzberg (1983a) termed "pressure campaigns."

The decision of the association to develop "policy statements" on particular issues beginning with the "practical proposals" in 1915 had an immediate and long lasting effect on the development of the faculty role in governance. As described in the case study of Elite College as early as 1916 AAUP members implemented the AAUP statement on their own campuses. The implementation of the AAUP statement on academic freedom and tenure is the most obvious and successful example of an AAUP statement becoming the accepted standard in academe but others are noteworthy as well.

It is noteworthy that almost all of the approximately 40 policy documents collected in the AAUP "red book" were written during the focal period (Policy Documents and Reports, Washington, D.C.: AAUP, 1990). Between 1960 and 1990, in response in part to faculty inquiries, the AAUP working through its committees developed documents that incorporated the "advice" that AAUP staff members would provide on a particular topic into a coherent statement. These reports provide a "standard" on numerous aspects of academic practice, e.g., teaching evaluation; faculty participation in the selection,

evaluation, and retention of administrators; collective bargaining; faculty workload; and role of the faculty in the governance of college athletics (Policy Documents and Reports. Washington, D.C.: AAUP, 1990).

Brown and Finkin, (1978) both former chairs of Committee A are quoted in Policy Documents and Reports (1990). The authors note that the policy documents serve as guides that can be utilized either for implementation of institutional policy or as a reference in the resolution of a particular problem. The statements have also been used by both faculty and administrators to strengthen their arguments in lawsuits. Brown and Finkin (1978) note that the statements codify the recommendations that the AAUP staff provides for repetitive problems.

A second component of the effect of the AAUP that influenced the faculty role in governance during the focal period was the extension of the AAUP beyond the national level to the state and local level. Conferences (e.g., the New York State Conference) and other local support services (such as newsletters) have worked to strengthen the AAUP campus chapters. Although it was beyond the scope of this research to fully explore the effects of this development, local chapters benefitted from these services which educate faculty about relevant concerns. For example an issue of New York State Academe (1995), a publication of The New York State Conference included articles by N.Y.S. Conference officers and the presidents of local chapters that addressed faculty governance problems and institutional budgeting in local chapters.

These changes have supported the development of local chapters and increased the awareness of faculty on broad topics of concern on a national level. The local AAUP chapters served as resources on AAUP policy for the faculty and administrators on their campuses. Examples of the role of AAUP chapters in providing leadership in governance issues particularly in times of crisis were illustrated in the case studies.

Lastly, the development of the Joint statement on government in 1966 supported the gradual movement of Committee T toward the full use of "pressure campaigns." This culminated in the publication of the '1994 Standards for Committee T Investigations in the Area of College and University Government'. The decision to utilize institutional censure notifies the academic community that the Board and/or the administration of an institution has "seriously infringed" the standards of college and university government accepted by the AAUP (AAUP Committee T, 1994.) Mintzberg noted that the pressure campaign brings the issue into the open and provides an opportunity for other groups to react to the issue as well.

However, Mintzberg (1983a) also observed that "although the pressure campaign is always focussed on particular issues or action, it is above all a means to effect change in a broader class of organizational behaviors" (p. 60.) For example, during the period that an administration is censured for failure to uphold accepted governance standards the goal of the AAUP is that the internal organizational dynamics will change and principles contained in the 1966 Joint Statement on Government will become the respected policy of the institution. Ideally the 1966 Statement on Joint Government is providing the guidance on governance to those in academe that the 1940 statement provided on academic freedom and tenure. The use of censure is the AAUP's method of raising and/or maintaining the standards to protect the rights of the faculty in colleges and universities.

In sum, direct controls by the MSA and pressure campaigns by the AAUP were the methods utilized by these external influencers as they attempted to use their "external basis of power" to affect the organization. With these mechanisms the MSA and AAUP were frequently able to achieve desired outcomes in the four colleges even though they functioned outside of what Mintzberg (1983a) refers to as the routine decision making process of the organization.

With the publication of the policy statements between the 1960's and the 1990's, the AAUP began to resemble other "standardizing organizations" including the regional associations founded in the early 1900's. The AAUP used the policy statements in a similar fashion as the MSA's use of the Characteristics of Excellence. These documents provide a standard or a guide for academic organizations to emulate. Both associations reflect the opinion of their membership in terms of what is considered an

appropriate standard. The MSA seeks compliance with its standard through the use of direct access to the administration and the threat of loss of federal funds for the institution if accreditation is not maintained. The AAUP also seeks compliance with its accepted policy statements. It relies on the weapon of publicity through the use of pressure campaigns to alter behavior within non compliant institutions.

In many instances found in the histories of the four colleges, the MSA sought to reduce the power of the presidency through recommendations aimed at increasing the faculty voice in the institution. The AAUP through its investigations (e.g. Unionized College in the 1960's, Traditional College in the 1980's and Crisis College in the 1970's and 1990's), publicity and threat of sanctions sought to change the behavior of the presidency by requiring changes in institutional policy to reflect accepted practice. Together both associations in the 1990's attempt to bring organizations "in line" with the accepted standards in academe at a given point in time.

Internal Influencers

What process did the faculty utilize to overcome the power of the president and increase their own power in decision making structures and processes in private colleges between the 1960's and the 1990's? Mintzberg's framework is useful in examining how the faculty attempted to increase their influence in the organization over time. The faculty in the operating core of the professional bureaucracy (the structure generally used to describe academic organizations) rely on the "system of expertise" and may utilize the "system of politics."

The professional bureaucracy is staffed by professionals hired because of their expertise who perform complex tasks and require a certain amount of discretion in completing their work. The administration that relies on the system of authority relinquishes power to the professional employees. Mintzberg noted that the system of expertise is the prime means of influence for the professionals.

An analysis of the case study data revealed that the faculty utilized the system of expertise to further their goals in the institution. Several examples consistent across the case studies illustrate this point. For example a theme that emerged from the four case studies was the faculty belief that academic concerns of the institution (as defined by the faculty) should guide budgetary decisions and allocation of funds rather than administrative priorities. The faculty stressed their special knowledge as their rationale for increasing their role in the decision making process. MSA documents and comments from Team Visitors supported faculty efforts to assume greater responsibility in the planning and budgetary process.

Another example of the faculty utilizing the system of expertise was the revisions in governance structures and processes that occurred in each institution during the focal period. Described in the following section, these revisions were sometimes fully accepted by the President and Board of Trustees because of the special expertise of the faculty. For example the faculty at Traditional College pushed for the elimination of the tripartite (faculty, students, administrators) structure of the College Assembly. With the Board and Presidents approval they replaced it with a stronger faculty committee system.

With the President and Board of Trustees support, the faculty utilized the system of expertise to further their own goals in the institution. At Elite College this was the case throughout the focal period. At the three more tuition dependent institutions (Unionized, Traditional and Crisis) these periods of relative tranquility varied over differing lengths of time through the terms of respective presidents. Difficulties arose as these three institutions faced financial problems associated with enrollment shortfalls and budget deficits. In response to financial difficulties decision making became more centralized as presidents reverted to the system of authority. Although the faculty initially accepted presidential authority as necessary to provide leadership through difficult periods, they eventually came to believe that their own "expertise" was being undermined unnecessarily. At this point, the faculty turned to the system of politics to extend their influence in decision making.

With the system of politics authority (formal power of the president) may be displaced by politics (informal, illegitimate power) due to problems of gaps in the other systems of influence (Mintzberg, 1984a, p. 173).

One of the ways that politics can replace legitimate power in the organization is through direct links to external influencers (See Figure 2). As depicted in Figure 2 the chain of authority is not honored - instead there are direct links between the external and internal coalition. This may result in the "displacement of formal goals, as the demands of certain external influencers get more weight than the senior management prefers to give them" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 181.) An example from Crisis College illustrates this point.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees the Dean reported on the April visit of the MSA team. The Dean noted that the Team was investigating issues related to the financial stability of the college and seemed "reassured on this point." The Dean added that:

The College's somewhat spotty relationship with MSA since their 1983 formal visit raised the possibility that the team's report might include some annoying recommendations not really germane to the College's current strengths or weaknesses. Several members of the faculty had unfortunately taken the occasion of the MSA visit to air their salary and other complaints, which could not have served any positive end (Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 3, 1989.)

There were other instances of appeals to the MSA were revealed in the histories of the four colleges. For example, the faculty at Unionized College (early 1960's) wrote their own "minority report" in response to the official self-study that reflected the views of the President rather than the faculty. Some faculty also visited the MSA office to speak with the Professional Staff. This report was retained in the MSA files. A former staff member noted that the MSA did not accept these unofficial reports which in later years were returned to the institution.

The Self-Study process provided ample opportunity for the faculty to communicate their views to the MSA. In many instances the faculty or organizational section of the Self-Study Report discussed the conflict between the faculty and the president. As confirmed in interviews with MSA Team Chairs and faculty at the colleges, the Team Visit provides an opportunity for discussion between faculty and Team Visitors on relevant issues. The Periodic Review Report provided another opportunity for faculty to comment on the progress of a concern related to governance.

The faculty utilized the same technique of direct links to external influencers with the AAUP as they did with the MSA. For example, faculty at the colleges complained to the AAUP Committee A regarding the tenure process at Crisis in the 1970's and Traditional in the 1980's. Both institutions were censured by the Association and eventually made the necessary policy changes to remove the sanction. Additionally faculty at Unionized College in the 1960's and Crisis College in the 1990's appealed to the AAUP's Committee T regarding governance concerns. At Unionized College in the 1960's the appeal to Committee T was part of a decade long period that culminated in a collective bargaining agreement in the 1970's.

At Crisis College in the 1990's the AAUP's Committee T investigated the issues and reported on the college in Academe. As this case concludes in the 1990's the issues remain unresolved. The AAUP investigation apparently led to attempts to improve communication between the faculty and president. The AAUP will continue to monitor the situation and report on the situation in Academe. As noted earlier, faculty at Crisis College are in the process of establishing a more autonomous role and it may take many years before the conflict is resolved.

In sum, the use of politics through direct links to external influencers has proved an effective method for faculty in the case study colleges to overcome the president's "system of authority" and exert their influence in the institution.

Power Configurations

What has been the effect of the "internal and external influencers" on decision making structures and processes between the 1960's and the 1990's? To answer this question the researcher collected historical case study data on the faculty role in governance from the four colleges that had contacts with the MSA and the AAUP.

The sampling method of analytic generalization used in this research is purposeful sampling. Cases are chosen to assist in the examination and development of the theory guiding the research (Bogdan and Bikin, 1982.) Mintzberg's theories on structure and power were used as the "template" to compare the empirical results of the case study (Yin, 1989.) In this research each case was compared to Mintzberg's organizational design structure of the professional bureaucracy and the power configuration of the Meritocracy. Using Baldrige's (1978) continuum one select private college (Elite) and three less select, more tuition dependent colleges (Unionized, Traditional and Crisis) were chosen as the case study sample. Following Mintzberg's theory, it was anticipated that the less select, tuition dependent institutions would be more likely to have utilized the external influencers (MSA and the AAUP) to effect changes in their governance structures over time. At Elite College the expectation was that the external influencers would have had little effect on changes in governance structures and processes. The specific changes that occurred during the focal period will be discussed using both the 1920 Committee T report on governance and the 1966 Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities as the governance standards to measure how structures and processes changed in the faculty role in governance in these institutions over time.

The following sections describe how the organizational design structures and power configurations were examined in the four colleges. This is followed by the analysis of the findings from the four case studies which discuss the organizational design structures (Mintzberg, 1983b) and the power configurations (Mintzberg, 1983a) present at the start of the historical period in the late 1950's (time 1) and at the end of the period in the early 1990's (time 2.)

Mintzberg (1983b) identified five organizational design structures that describe how most organizations structure themselves (simple structure, machine bureaucracy, professional bureaucracy, divisionalized form and adhocracy.) The four colleges were examined in the late 1950's and again in the early 1990's to determine what organizational design structure best characterized these institutions. The data from the MSA self-study reports and faculty handbooks provided a description of the colleges and the faculty in the 1950's. In the 1980's faculty handbooks and MSA Self-Study Reports were augmented with other institutional documents, interview data with faculty, deans and presidents and the researchers own observations. The categories were determined based on an analysis of this data.

Since Mintzberg (1983b) had noted that schools and universities are usually categorized as professional bureaucracies, this structure was used as the "template" to compare the colleges in both Time 1 and Time 2. The faculty form the operating core in Mintzberg's organizational design structure. Mintzberg (1983b) called the operating core the heart of the organization that "produces the essential outputs that keep it alive" (p. 12.) The professionals in the operating core of the professional bureaucracy have "considerable control over their own work" (Mintzberg, 1983b, p. 190.) Examples of what they "control" include academic policies, course preparation and implementation and teaching methodology. Mintzberg noted that the professionals work "relatively independently" of colleagues but closely with the clients (p. 190.) In examining the colleges to determine the organizational design structure special emphasis was placed on the faculty's perception of their role in the institution.

Mintzberg (1983a) identified power configurations based on an examination of the relationship between internal and external power and the premise that particular internal and external coalitions fit together best. Mintzberg identified six natural and nine less common power configurations. He characterized the professional bureaucracy structure (generally used to characterize academic organizations) as one of the natural power configurations - a Meritocracy with a professional internal coalition - the faculty. With this type of configuration - the external coalition would be described as

passive - meaning that there are numerous external influencers with diffuse power so that power passes back to the internal coalition.

The power configurations are useful for assessing the relationship between the internal influencers (faculty and the president) and the external influencers (MSA and the AAUP) - a focus in each of the colleges over time. As Mintzberg notes, the power configurations are unstable and dynamic allowing the study of "the patterns of interrelationships among the configurations", to learn how organizations "evolve over time" (p. 468.) Mintzberg (1983b) noted that the power configurations are not just a typology but a "framework to build integrated theory" (p. 468.) It is important to stress that Mintzberg cautions that these configurations are "pure types, caricatures or simplifications of reality" (p. 319.) He suggests that the real power situations (like those described in the case studies) will resemble the typology rather than duplicate it exactly.

Mintzberg found that the power configuration of the Meritocracy is the most stable of the power configurations. The "internal coalition" is professional. Within the Meritocracy there is an ongoing conflict between two forces - expertise and politics. The professionals notably within the administrative structure argue over various things including resource allocations. Although there are pressures from the external coalition the professional internal influencers can usually address these concerns so the external coalition remains passive. Mintzberg found that the intrinsic forces built into the structure are responsible for the drive into another power configuration. Mintzberg notes however that the external influencers are always on the alert because the organization "is typically visible and consequential" (p. 495.) He observed that it requires only a small push - like a decline in resources to careen the organization to the Political Arena.

When serious conflict is present in the power configuration of the Meritocracy, Mintzberg (1983b) found that the configuration will change. He suggests that there are several possibilities for the Meritocracy power configuration at this point. It can either transform permanently into one of the other natural power configurations or go through a transformational period into one of the nine less common configurations. These configurations Mintzberg categorizes as the Political Arena. The Meritocracy can transform into the Political Arena while the "insiders challenge each other." During this period the "external coalition" previously kept passive by the expertise of the internal coalition is likely to "dominate" the institution. After this conflict lessens or resolves, the institution may remain in this temporary hybrid form of the political arena or return to the Meritocracy power configuration. In this way, the Meritocracy makes a transition to a new form of itself" (Mintzberg, 1983b, p. 496) These transitions, if they exist, will be noted in the sample institutions.

As illustrated in the case studies of the three more tuition dependent institutions (Unionized, Traditional and Crisis), considerable conflict was present between the faculty and the presidents in these colleges during the focal period. However a lessening or resolution of the conflict occurred in Unionized and Traditional College by the 1990's. At Crisis considerable conflict between the President and the faculty is evident in the 1990's with no resolution likely in the near future.

Using Mintzberg's theory, it was anticipated that the Meritocracy power configuration (generally used to describe academic organizations) was not descriptive of these institutions during periods of extreme conflict. It was postulated that a hybrid form of the Political Arena (with a professional internal coalition and a dominated external coalition) one of Mintzberg's (1983a) nine less common power configurations will be more descriptive of the power configurations of these institutions during periods of conflict. The theory suggests that the power configuration of the Meritocracy and its transformations during periods of conflict may be descriptive of the power configurations that existed in the colleges during the focal period.

With the professional bureaucracy as a template of the organizational design structure and the Meritocracy as a template of the power configurations, the analysis of the four colleges is presented in the following sections and summarized in Table I

Elite College

At Elite College the overall picture presented in the Self-Study document and the subsequent MSA Visitors Report in 1957 is one of a productive faculty with good morale. The faculty note that they are the source of "all of the legislation that has to do with the academic work of the college" and that much of the work is done in committees (Elite Self-Study, 1957; Elite MSA Visitors Report.) The faculty role and good rapport with the President remained consistent throughout the focal period.

For the 1987 Self-Study the faculty examined their effectiveness in addressing the educational issues that needed to be addressed in order to maintain financial equilibrium i.e. maintaining graduate education and viable faculty research in light of financial constraints. Additional evidence of their control of the academic work in the institution is supported with interview data. In a 1993 interview one faculty member observed that the faculty on the Committee on Appointments is "valued as informal advisors." The President in a 1993 interview confirmed that observation noting that the faculty had been rewarded a lot of responsibility for the development of policy and the running of the institution in 1916 and retained it and that this has been considered a "strong point in the health of this institution."

Using Mintzberg's categories and the case study data, Elite College would be categorized as a professional bureaucracy design structure with a meritocracy power configuration throughout the focal period from Time 1 in the late 1950's through to Time 2 the early 1990's. With this type of configuration - the external coalition would be described as passive - meaning that there are numerous external influencers with diffuse power so that power passes back to the internal coalition. As Mintzberg notes this type of power configuration can remain stable for long periods. The roles of the AAUP and the MSA in the institution during the focal period were not a significant factor in changing the faculty role in governance. This is not to imply that they had no effect. The faculty adopted AAUP policies during the focal period (e.g., changes in length of service for tenure) and at the urging of the MSA became more involved in the planning and budgeting process. But these changes were fully supported by the administration of the college. The faculty did not have to appeal to the external influencers to increase their influence in the institution.

Unionized College

A very different atmosphere prevailed at Unionized College in 1959. The MSA Visitors described the President as authoritarian and the faculty morale as poor. The college was in a transition period from a two year to four year institution, the organizational design structure was cumbersome, the faculty were required to sign in and out, the teaching load too high and the overall climate or rapport between the President and administration was strained (MSA Visitors Report, 1959). The President was apparently the cause of many of the difficulties at the college (MSA Special Visitors Report, 1961). In the 1959 Self-Study, the faculty described some control of the academics at the college such as freedom of teaching methodology, academic freedom in the classroom and freedom to determine student evaluation measures. The 1959 MSA Visitors Report commented favorably on the number and quality of both the full and part time faculty. However both the faculty and the MSA Visitors noted numerous problems at the college that belie the presence of a recognizable professional bureaucracy structure. For example the departments were not well organized and department heads had no authority. Lastly, the President was involved in all aspects of the running of the institution (MSA Visitors Report, 1959.)

A MSA Visitor who wrote a Special Report for the MSA summed up the situation. He related problems to the stresses present in the college during this period. The institution was only about 25 years old and had been run by one very dedicated and autocratic president since its founding. The college had recently moved to a new campus and was changing from a two-year to a four-year institution. The Visitor observed that there was no notion of the faculty as a professional body with corporate responsibilities and that the concept of academic organization was not understood (Special report for the MSA, 1961.)

Using Mintzberg's organizational design framework, Unionized College in the late 1950's was still a new institution with the vestiges of a simple structure with a strong CEO and an organic operating core. Using the Mintzberg's power configurations (1983a) at the start of the focal period in the late 1950's the college is an Autocracy, i.e., a small young organization under the control of the CEO and "insignificant to most external influencers" (Mintzberg, 1983a, p. 362.) The first required evaluation by the MSA brought the college under the scrutiny of this important external influencer. The faculty sensing that the President was undermining the MSA process also appealed to the AAUP. Both external influencers supported the faculty's attempt to move the organization to the Professional Bureaucracy/Meritocracy configurations. Both external influencers maintained contact with the institution during the 1960's as the subsequent president continued to resist efforts to make changes in the governance structure. The decade ended with a faculty voting for a collective bargaining agreement to increase their influence in the institution.

After ten years of conflict the college assumed a professional bureaucracy structure but not a true Meritocracy power configuration. The conflict continued between the faculty and the president. MSA Visitors to the institution in 1976 characterized the open conflict between the faculty and the president as alarming. The decade ended as it had began with conflict between the faculty and the administration this time culminating in a faculty strike. One of the leaders of the strike characterized the issues as salaries and governance. The faculty wanted committees to "carry influence" not just be a "rubber stamp for the administration" (1993 Faculty Interview). Contributing to these difficulties in the college in the 1970's were enrollment declines and financial problems that increased conflicts during the collective bargaining negotiations.

In the 1980's another new president arrived. At this point the faculty had an effective modified dual track governance structure allocating responsibilities between the union agreement and the faculty by-laws. Yet conflict continued during the 1980's and 1990's. Both the President and the faculty's perception in 1992-1993 interviews was that collaborative governance had still not been achieved. The President observed that the union had been a major impediment. The faculty viewpoint supported by the MSA Team Chair was that the President tended to act arbitrarily regardless of governance structures mandating faculty involvement.

In sum, as suggested by Mintzberg's theory, the AAUP and the MSA did influence the power dynamics in the college. The faculty role in governance changed significantly during the focal period. With the Faculty Council and the collective bargaining agreement in place, the faculty were able to assume a more inclusive role in the decision-making process. Based on the analysis of the data, Unionized College in the early 1990's had a Professional Bureaucracy structure with a power configuration of a hybrid Political Arena. The college is still relatively young. With a new president in the 1990's, it may move to the Meritocracy power configuration in the years ahead. An observation by Kemerer and Baldrige (1976) seems appropriate:

If higher education is to be healthier and stronger because of faculty collective bargaining, then it will require genuine statesmanship on all sides... Academic governance is a political process. If we expand the analogy, the language of statesmanship is always linked to the language of politics. In the political battles to come, there will be union members and administrators who are petty and contentious; there will also undoubtedly be those in both camps who are creative leaders with goals of preserving the spirit of campus unity... In large measure, the fate of higher education depends on which style of leadership accompanies faculty collective bargaining (Kemerer and Baldrige, 1976, p.233.)

Traditional College

Traditional College entered the focal period as a professional bureaucracy structure with a meritocracy power configuration. In the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's the college had an especially large and active AAUP chapter. The faculty had a good rapport with their President and when he acted in a

matter that supported the concept of academic freedom the faculty praised his actions in a college up date in the Bulletin of the AAUP. There apparently was a strong commitment in these early years to maintaining an appropriate faculty governance role in the institution (Bulletin of the AAUP, 1920-1950.)

The 1958 Self-Study Report noted that the faculty as a committee of the whole had legislative powers over all matters of academic policy, determination of candidates for degrees and other matters referred by the president. The 1958 MSA Visitors Report observed that the faculty had good morale and excellent rapport with the President and Dean. They noted that the college was fortunate to have a faculty with "wide, diverse and specialized training and research" (MSA Visitors Report, 1958.)

The college maintained these organizational dynamics into the late 1960's. During the late 1960's and early 1970's the college suffered serious enrollment declines, several years of deficits and liquidation of capital. Over the next several years, the new president instituted cost cutting measures. Faculty positions including tenured positions were lost. The MSA Self-Study in 1977 commented on the faculty morale problems. This decade was a dramatic reversal for the institution and the faculty. In the 1970's, the faculty found the actions of the new President particularly disturbing because the president had risen to the presidency through the academic ranks serving as a faculty member and a Dean prior to assuming the presidency. The faculty had control of the curriculum in their by-laws since the 1930's and a tradition of a strong, respected faculty in the institution. However in the 1970's, declining enrollment of select students due in part to competition from state schools and changing academic interests of students called the mission of the college into question. At this institution the mission of the college was the crucial issue. Because of scarce resources the faculty had to look beyond control of the departmental curriculum and assess the overall issue of what programs to emphasize in the college. The faculty assumed the leadership role in institutional planning and budgeting and devised a plan acceptable to the President and Board of Trustees. As financial problems continued over the years the President was perceived as more authoritarian by the faculty. However, the president retained the support of the Board and remained as President into the 1990's.

Tenure issues continued as a problem (1970's through 1990's.) Although AAUP tenure recommendations were incorporated into policy statements, the President overrode the department and committee peer review process and denied tenure to individuals deemed qualified by this process. Additionally, in 1992 the President announced that as faculty left or retired, their positions would be replaced by faculty with one year appointments rather than tenure tract appointments. This action contributed to poor faculty morale and faculty concern regarding their ability to maintain and strengthen academic departments. Having the accepted standards in place as identified by the AAUP on control of the curriculum and tenure did not ensure adherence to these policies in this college. Rather than leave the decisions entirely to the administration the faculty became actively involved in deciding the curriculum and planning issues. The tenure issue was resolved in the 1980's with an appeal to the AAUP and censure of the institution by Committee A. The faculty appear less certain of how to address the tenure issues in the 1990's although there was talk on the campus of reviving the AAUP chapter.

In sum, the transition in the power configurations from the Meritocracy to the hybrid Political Arena began in the 1970's triggered by conflict between the President and the faculty. Consistent with Mintzberg's (1983a) model, as the internal conflict intensified, the influence of the external Influencers increased. After decades of being among the institutions that set the standards on what the faculty governance role should be, the faculty were now turning to the AAUP for assistance. The college was censured during this period for violations of academic freedom and tenure. The faculty also used the 1977 MSA Self-Study report to analyze their governance role and suggested several changes to strengthen it.

In the 1980's after years of frustration at what many faculty perceived as a continued "downward spiral" the faculty assumed a more assertive role in planning for the future of the college. The strong tradition in this college of a "respected and effective faculty" supported faculty efforts at this point. The faculty became involved in the planning and budgeting process and drafted the 'Traditional College Plan'

to maintain the historic mission of the institution updated with an eye toward new markets and initiatives. Most importantly the faculty were able to convince the President and finally the Board of the merits of the plan. The active cooperative role played by the faculty in the decision making process at a crucial period in the colleges history moved the power configuration back toward the Meritocracy. With a new president and a strengthened governance structure the faculty will most likely maintain the Professional Bureaucracy Structure and the Meritocracy power configuration. However, several faculty expressed concerns regarding the support of the Board of Trustees under a new president. A crucial factor will be the success of the 'Traditional College Plan' and ultimately the college's ability to maintain financial equilibrium.

Crisis College

The 1952 MSA Visitors Report noted that the quality and morale of the faculty were excellent in spite of low salaries. They commented on the adequacy of tenure and academic freedom. However, financial problems related to the academics were apparent. The institution had suffered a severe drop in enrollment. The MSA Visitors noted that probably because of financial necessity the faculty had low admission standards coupled with generous grading practices and many upper division courses running with small numbers. The faculty interest in maintaining academic standards did not impress the MSA Visitors. They urged the faculty to assume a greater share of the "responsibility for the continuing development of the educational philosophy of the college" (MSA Visitors Report, 1952.) Based on the data, it would appear that the college had an apparently weak Professional Bureaucracy Structure with a Meritocracy power configuration.

Shortly after the completion of the 1952 report, the college brought in a new president charged with improving the financial picture. By all accounts this was an extremely autocratic president who literally needed to rebuild the institution to keep it from closing. By 1963 when the college completed its next Self-Study the president had a ten year tenure and his relationship with the faculty had deteriorated. Faculty felt that as the institution had recovered financially, the president had failed to delegate significant authority to either faculty or administrators. A faculty member at the college at that time, who knew the President recalled that the faculty decided curricular and teaching issues but could not disagree with him on other matters. The President was a member of all committees and decided faculty appointments and made tenure decisions. The faculty used the 1963 MSA Report to examine the problems with the President. The MSA team noted a "crisis of confidence" between the faculty and the President and urged the President to reduce his involvement in faculty affairs. In terms of the organizational dynamics the autocratic president attempted to turn the institution into the power configuration of an autocracy as he rebuilt it. However, the faculty with some tradition of an appropriate role in a professional bureaucracy structure/meritocracy power configuration, resisted his efforts. The power configuration of the hybrid political arena emerged, characterized by conflict between the faculty and the President and an increase in the power of the external influencers.

By the 1970's both the MSA and the AAUP had increased their contacts with the institution. For example, in 1976 the MSA requested that the college submit one of a series of follow up reports that addressed faculty involvement in the governance process. Critical comments from the MSA and frequent requests for Follow-Up Reports apparently contributed to the President's decision to retire.

The AAUP also influenced policies in the institution. In the 1970's, the college's tenure policy did not conform to AAUP standards. A faculty member who lost his position appealed to the AAUP and the college was investigated and censured for violations of academic freedom and tenure. After several years, the college's tenure policy was revised to reflect AAUP guidelines.

In the late 1970's the Collegial President replaced the authoritarian one, and the power configuration briefly reverted to the Meritocracy. However, during the tenure of this president, the college again experienced financial difficulties. Repeating the earlier cycle in the institution, the Collegial

President retired and the Business Oriented President was brought in to provide strong leadership and improve finances.

The relationship between the Business Oriented President and the faculty deteriorated very rapidly into open conflict. The activity of external influencers increased as well. During this period, the MSA requested that the institution address governance issues in several reports. The faculty appealed to other external influencers including the AAUP and several national educational associations in an effort to establish a collective bargaining agreement. The attempt to form a collective bargaining unit was unsuccessful. The faculty appeal to AAUP's Committee T resulted in an investigation of the institution.

In sum, as analysis of this case concludes in the early 1990's the conflict between the president and the faculty continues. However, communication persists between the internal and the external influencers. The MSA will maintain contact with the institution through the self-study process and the AAUP with follow-up's related to its investigation.

Analysis of the case histories of Traditional and Unionized Colleges revealed that conflict lasted over a decade in these institutions before a successful resolution. The animosity between the president and the faculty at Crisis College is not likely to resolve easily.

As suggested by Mintzberg's theory, Crisis College maintained a hybrid form of the political arena for most of the focal period. The late 1980's and early 1990's under the leadership of the Business Oriented President were especially conflict ridden. During this period the faculty appealed to both the MSA and the AAUP. The influence of the external influencers was pervasive. The colleges was asked to submit several Follow-Up reports to the MSA and was investigated by AAUP's Committee T. Mintzberg (1983a) noted that once an organization has "been captured by conflict" and insiders have "become used to pursuing their own needs through political games - then there may be no turning back" (p. 512.) He says that one way to resolve the situation is to bring in a "shrewd leader" who will renew the institution with a return to Autocracy.

TABLE I
Design Structures and Power Configurations
of the Case Studies at Time 1 (late 1950's) and Time 2 (1990's)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Design Structure</u>	<u>Environmental</u> <u>Coalition (MSA,</u> <u>AAUP) Activity</u>	<u>Power Configuration</u>
<u>Elite College</u>			
1950's)			
1960's :			
1970's : < Professional	< Weak		< Meritocracy
1980's : Bureaucracy			
1990's)			
<u>Unionized College</u>			
1950's Simple Structure	Weak		Autocracy
1960's Simple Structure	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
(movement to			
Professional			
Bureaucracy)			
1970's) Professional	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
1980's: Bureaucracy	Moderate		Hybrid Political Arena
1990's)			Hybrid Political Arena
			(movement toward Meritocracy)
<u>Traditional College</u>			
1950's	Weak		Meritocracy
1960's: Professional			
1970's: Bureaucracy	Moderate		Hybrid Political Arena
1980's:	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
1990's)	Weak		Hybrid Political Arena
			(movement toward Meritocracy)
<u>Crisis College</u>			
1950's)	Weak		Meritocracy
1960's:	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
1970's: Professional	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
1980's: Bureaucracy	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena
1990's)	Strong		Hybrid Political Arena

Governance Structures and Processes

This section examines the AAUP Committee T's principles of governance applicable at the start and conclusion of the focal period. These principles are used to examine the governance structures in place in the sample colleges in Time 1 and Time 2. AAUP's principles of governance are reflected in the organizational theory literature using other terminology. For the purpose of this research, the AAUP's principles of governance are most useful for comparison of governance structures and processes in place in the case studies. This section concludes with a discussion of the significance for the faculty of drafting and updating faculty by-laws. The drafting or revision of by-laws followed faculty revolts in three of the colleges. In each instance, the faculty had to reach a certain "maturity". This refers to the faculty's ability to act as a cohesive unit to effect change on an institutional level. The faculty had to look beyond the concerns of their particular discipline and unite to address broader institutional issues. The faculty at Crisis College who are in conflict with the President at the conclusion of the case study are attempting to reach this point.

The colleges classified as Meritocracy power configurations at Time 1 in the late 1950's (Elite and Traditional College) had incorporated the "sound principles" of university government endorsed by the

AAUP in 1920. Both colleges had active AAUP chapters in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's and a tradition of a respected faculty within the institution. College chapter members assumed leadership positions in the AAUP national organization. For example both colleges had faculty who served on the AAUP Council, a leadership body of the AAUP during this period and who served as members or chairs of the AAUP national committees. Significantly both colleges had presidents who supported faculty authority over academic issues and relatively prosperous decades of financial equilibrium.

In contrast Unionized and Crisis Colleges' began the 1960's in relatively weaker positions. Unionized College was under the leadership of an autocratic President who was literally involved in all aspects of academic and institutional decision making. Additionally the college had recently completed the move to a new campus and was in the process of initiating an upper division to award baccalaureate degrees. Crisis' President in the 1950's although supportive of the faculty had been unable to prevent a severe decline in enrollment and significant financial problems.

The 1920 AAUP Committee T Report identified the basic categories used to assess the faculty role in governance. The report was updated over the remaining years of the century. The 1938 Committee T report served as the "standard" on faculty participation in governance until the publication of the Joint Statement on the Government of Colleges and Universities in 1966. The four colleges were examined in Time 1 using the Committee T report from 1938 and again in Time 2 utilizing the 1966 Joint Statement on the Government of Colleges and Universities. In the following sections the governance structures and processes in place in Time 1 and Time 2 are related to the organizational structures and power configurations described above.

The "sound principles" of university government identified by Committee T differentiated five propositions summarized in Table II. The faculty by-laws and handbooks of the four colleges (from the late 1950's and early 1960's) were examined to assess the presence of the five "sound principles" in the written documents.

TABLE II*
FACULTY GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN 1960

<u>Committee T - "Sound Principles" of Government</u>		<u>Elite College</u>		<u>Unionized College</u>		<u>Traditional College</u>		<u>Crisis College</u>	
1.	Some forum for joint conference between the faculty and the Board of Trustees other than the President.	1.	Yes - Faculty membership on the Board of Trustees since 1916.	1.	No	1.	No	1.	No
2.	Participation with the Trustees in the selection of the President; faculty voice in the selection of the dean of the division or school.	2.	Yes - Incorporated after the AAUP recommended it in the 1920's.	2.	No	2.	Yes - The faculty participated in the selection of the President as early as the 1930's although it was not formally discussed in faculty by-laws.	2.	No
3.	Liaison in the form of committees to administrative officers on issues of faculty appointment promotion and dismissal; institutional budgets and; educational policy.	3.	Yes - The Committee on Appointments established in 1916. No input into the institutional budget.	3.	No	3.	Yes - Committees on faculty personnel policy and educational committees. No input into the institutional budget.	3.	No - Only procedure for dismissal addressed in the faculty handbook although college did endorse the 1940 AAUP 'Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure'.

Committee T - "Sound
Principles" of
Government

Elite College

Unionized College

Traditional College

Crisis College

4. Faculty control of its organization and committees and; "legislative power over educational policies."

4. Yes - Present since 1916.

4. No

4. Yes

4. No - Faculty do not control organization or committees; although faculty were granted control of the educational work of the college in the college by-laws no mechanism for legislative powers was delineated in the faculty handbook.

5. Departments of instruction with "collective authority" over the research and teaching in their domain.

5. Yes

5. No

5. Yes

5. Yes

*Report of Committee
T, AAUP Bulletin, Vol.
XXIV, No.2, (Feb. 1938)

TABLE III *
FACULTY GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN THE 1990's

<u>AAUP Recommendations for Faculty Participation in Governance</u>	<u>Elite College</u>	<u>Unionized College</u>	<u>Traditional College</u>	<u>Crisis College</u>
1. Primary responsibility for the curriculum, teaching methods, degree requirements.	1. Yes	1. Yes	1. Yes - Problems with the mission of the college and the curriculum were a source of conflict between the faculty and the President in the 1980's. In an effort to resolve the conflict the faculty drafted the Traditional College Plan in the 1990's.	1. Yes
2. Primary responsibility for the faculty status policies i.e. appointment, reappointment, promotion, tenure and dismissal.	2. Yes	2. Yes - Policies specified in the collective bargaining agreement beginning in 1982.	2. Yes - Although peer review committees were in place, faculty identified tenure as a source of conflict between the faculty and the President in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's. The administration was censured by the AAUP for violations of academic freedom and tenure in the 1980's.	2. Yes - Faculty input into the process through the Faculty Review Committee rather than primary responsibility. Faculty promotion decisions were a major source of conflict between the faculty and the President in the 1990's.

3. Participation in the determination of policies and procedures governing salary increases. 3. Yes

4. Participate in the selection of the department chairpersons either through election or consultation. 4. Yes

5. Selection of representatives according to means determined by the faculty. 5. Yes

6. Structures for participation of the whole faculty. Examples of faculty structures include meetings of the faculty through department, school, or college, or senates or faculty executive committees elected by the faculty (After 1978 the statement was amended to include collective bargaining as an appropriate means of faculty participation in governance). 6. Yes

3. Yes - Policies specified in the collective bargaining agreement beginning in 1971. 3. Yes

4. Not addressed in the collective bargaining agreement. 4. Yes

5. Yes 5. Yes

6. Yes - The revision of the faculty by-laws, the creation of the Faculty Council in 1970 and the Faculty Association with the collective bargaining agreement in 1971 delineate methods for faculty participation. 6. Yes

3. Yes - Formal input into the process through the division chairpersons. However, salary policy decisions were a major area of conflict between the faculty and the President in the 1990's.

4. Yes

5. Yes

6. Yes - Faculty Executive Committee serves as leadership body for the faculty. Faculty meetings chaired by the President or Dean. This was an area of conflict between the faculty and the administration in the 1990's.

7. Mechanisms for faculty participation in college governance at all levels where faculty have responsibility. Some mechanism for the faculty as a whole to express their views. Clearly understood and respected methods of communication between the faculty, administration and governing board such as joint ad hoc committees, faculty membership on administrative committees, faculty membership on the Board or standing liaison committees.
7. Yes - The committee on Academic Priorities was established in 1988 to address the long range academic priorities of the college.
7. Yes - Faculty granted membership on committees of the Board of Trustees in 1971 and 1976. An area of conflict in the 1980's and 1990's was the faculty perception that the President does not utilize the governance structures and processes. Faculty perceive that important decisions are made by the President without consulting the faculty.
7. Yes - Faculty membership on committees of the Board of Trustees granted in 1987.
7. Yes - Faculty members granted membership on the Academic Affairs Committee of the Board of Trustees in 1986. However, in the 1990's, faculty members argued that they had little input into important decisions in spite of the committee structure.

* Joint Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities, AAUP Bulletin, Vol. 63, No. 1, Feb 1977, pp. 32-36.

Lastly, one additional factor that was especially important for faculty in delineating an autonomous governance role was the drafting of faculty by-laws. In each of the four colleges, drafting by-laws was preceded by long periods of conflict between the President and the faculty. Prior to drafting by-laws, faculty responsibilities were identified in documents such as college by-laws (or by-laws of the trustees) drafted at the founding of the colleges or in amendments or revisions completed at a later date. As each faculty reached a certain "maturity" - they acted to form a cohesive faculty unit. Struggles with administrators over topics such as academic policies, curriculum, planning and budgeting, faculty personnel policies and compensation served to unite the faculty in a common purpose. As revealed in the case studies, after periods of prolonged conflict with the President the faculty revolted. One of the outcomes of these revolts was the drafting of new faculty by-laws (Elite in 1916; Unionized in 1970) or the strengthening of existing ones (i.e., Traditional College in 1990.) The drafting of the by-laws document served a symbolic as well as practical purpose. After the by-laws were promulgated the faculty addressed issues empowered to represent the whole faculty as a true corporate body. To gain autonomy, the faculty incorporated the authority over academic issues granted in the college charter or by-laws and stated it in a separate document - the faculty by laws (subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.) Typically faculty by-laws documents generally address the functions of the faculty, the committee structure and faculty personnel policies often adapted from AAUP guidelines i.e., tenure or grievance.

In the by-laws of the four colleges the faculty identified a faculty leadership body to solicit the opinion of faculty and act as the spokesperson for the corporate faculty. Table IV delineates this process in the case histories.

TABLE IV
ESTABLISHMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF GOVERNANCE
STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN THE COLLEGE CASE STUDIES

<u>College</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Governance Structure and Process</u>
<u>Elite College</u>	1916	Establishment of the Plan of Government and Faculty By-Laws. The Secretary of the Faculty and the Committee on Appointments (CAP) met directly with the President and represented the corporate faculty. Although the Committee on Appointments was primarily responsible for personnel matters, during the tenures of several Presidents it became the accepted mechanism for the President and the faculty to discuss important issues. Presidents viewed the committee as a mechanism for obtaining faculty opinion before decisions were made.
	1988	Establishment of a second committee - the Committee on Academic Priorities that focused directly on planning and budgetary issues. CAP did not replace the Committee on Appointments but rather served as another mechanism to represent the views of the corporate faculty to the administration.
<u>Unionized College</u>	1970	Major revision of the Faculty By-Laws. Faculty granted authority to legislate policies in several areas including curricula, admissions and progression; and faculty rank and tenure. Establishment of the Faculty Council. Establishment of the Faculty Association, one of the first collective bargaining units in a private college. Collective bargaining agreement covers compensation; hiring and retention; qualifications for rank and promotion; scheduling; facilities; college organization and educational policy; academic freedom; and grievance procedures.
	1982	Revision of faculty By-Laws; Faculty Council retained status as primary committee to oversee issues related to the authority and functions of the faculty as defined in the by-laws and implemented through 16 standing committees. The by-laws stipulate that policies related to promotion, tenure, faculty non-reappointment, suspension, dismissal and faculty reduction because of financial exigency are specified in the agreement between the college and the Faculty Association.
<u>Traditional College</u>	1932	The college By-laws were revised and faculty were granted control of academic policy and membership on an advisory committee - the President's Council. This structure was apparently satisfactory until the college experienced financial problems in the 1970's and the faculty and the President entered a period of extended conflict over tenure, control of the mission of the college and the curriculum.
	1990	Faculty made significant changes to strengthen the by-laws including the creation of the position of Chairperson of the Faculty and the Executive Committee and enhancing the functions of the faculty.

At Unionized College the faculty also entered into a collective bargaining agreement in 1971. At Unionized College as often occurs in unionized colleges "control" over various aspects of faculty policies are divided among the collective bargaining agreement and the faculty by-laws.

At Crisis College the faculty never drafted faculty by-laws. The faculty responsibilities and committee structures are incorporated into the Faculty Handbook as the Standing Committees of the College. The committee structure revised in 1983 remains essentially unchanged in the 1990's. The Faculty Executive Committee (FEC) composed of four faculty and the Dean as an ex-officio member continues as the faculty leadership body. A careful reading of FEC and Faculty Meeting minutes and faculty interviews revealed the four faculty elected to the FEC are generally considered to represent the corporate faculty to the President and the administration.

The faculty requested that the chair of the FEC also chair the faculty meetings. This request was denied by the President. The Dean now chairs the faculty meetings. The minutes of the FEC in the late 1980's and early 1990's revealed frequent disagreements between the faculty and the Dean on a variety of topics. Rather than reduce conflict, maintaining the Dean on the FEC and as chair of the faculty meetings has apparently served to increase the conflict. The attempt at unionization in 1992 failed. The revolt from the faculty's perspective remains unresolved. As the case concludes the faculty and the President are again attempting to improve their relationship.

In the three colleges where conflict and revolts occurred during the focal period (Unionized, Traditional and Crisis) the power configurations in the institutions were in the Political Arena. There was contact between faculty and the AAUP in the preceding years and ongoing dialogue with the MSA on the issue of the faculty role in the institution either through the Self-Study process, the Periodic Review Report and or Follow-Up Reports.

Summary

Analysis of the data revealed that the professional bureaucracy structure was descriptive of the organizational design structure of the colleges at Time 1 and Time 2. The exception was Unionized College at Time 1. During this period the college was still relatively young and adjusting to a new campus and major curricular initiatives. Mintzberg's (1983a,b) description of a simple structure and an autocracy power configuration captures the organizational dynamics at Unionized College at the start of the focal period.

As suggested by Yin's (1989) sampling method of analytic generalization and Mintzberg's (1983a,b) theoretical framework, the Meritocracy power configuration with transformation temporarily to the Hybrid Political Arena was the predominant power configuration during the focal period for three of the colleges. The pattern of institutional financial difficulty followed by the emergence of an autocratic president and conflict with the faculty appeared in Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College. The period of conflict between the faculty and the president brought increased attention from the external influencers, the MSA and AAUP. Only Elite College which began the focal period with a strong professional bureaucracy structure and a Meritocracy power configuration maintained those organizational dynamics throughout the focal period.

Applying Mintzberg's theory to this research the expertise of the faculty in the operating core of the Meritocracy power configuration was ordinarily sufficient to mediate the concerns of the external influencers (the MSA and AAUP.) In other words the external influencers remained passive. However, when conflict arose between the internal influencers, analysis of the case study data revealed that the faculty utilized the systems of politics and expertise and direct appeals to external influencers (the MSA and AAUP) to further their goals in the institution. The use of these mechanisms was especially apparent as the power configurations transformed to the hybrid form of the Political Arena as occurred in Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College during the focal period. As expected, there was no observable increase in influence of the AAUP and the MSA at Elite College where the organizational dynamics remained stable.

The MSA relied on the process of direct controls through direct access to the institutional decision-makers to influence decision making in the institution. The AAUP utilized the weapon of publicity through investigations and censure of institutions to alter the power dynamics in the institution. The extent of the power of the external influencers varied with changes in organizational dynamics. As the power configuration in the college transformed temporarily to a hybrid form of the Political Arena, the amount of influence of the external influencers in the institution increased. The AAUP Committee T and Committee A investigated and/or censured these institutions when their power configurations were the Hybrid Political Arena with significant conflict between the faculty and the president. The MSA sent special visitors to the campus and required Follow-Up Reports on these campuses when the power configuration were the Hybrid Political Arena. For example, when the power configuration of Crisis College in the late 1980's and early 1990's was the Hybrid Political Arena, the institution was required to submit several Follow-Up Reports to the MSA and was investigated by the AAUP Committee T for problems concerning academic

government. In this manner, the external influencers supported the efforts of the internal influencers (the faculty) to alter the power dynamics in the institution in times of crisis.

The goal of the associations (MSA or AAUP) was to assist the institution to adopt or maintain the accepted standard in academe of some aspect of organizational policy. The MSA standards for accreditation provided a standard of reference for an academic institution to emulate in virtually all aspects of institutional policy. The process of accreditation is the "educational community's means of self-regulation." (*Characteristics of Excellence*, 1982, MSA, Commission on Higher Education.) This research was limited to an examination of the MSA in regard to the faculty role in the governance of the institution.

For the AAUP, the accepted standards in academe are found in the policy statements on academic freedom and tenure of faculty (Committee A) or the roles of the faculty, president and trustees in the effective governing of the organization (Committee T) (AAUP *Policy Documents and Reports*, 1990.) The endorsement of these statements by associations such as the Association of American Colleges lend credence to the AAUP's claim that they represent accepted practice in academe.

As illustrated in Tables II and III, the faculty role in the governance of the institution did change during the focal period. At Time I in 1960 only Elite College's written faculty documents reflected the presence of the 1938 Committee T recommendations on the sound principles of government. By 1990, all four colleges had incorporated the AAUP guidelines from the 1966 AAUP statement on government. However during the focal period, conflict arose in three of the colleges (Unionized, Traditional and Crisis) between the faculty and the president. A primary cause of conflict was the faculty perception that although AAUP standards were incorporated into faculty documents, they were either not consistently implemented in the institution or the relevant committee structure and processes was ignored or bypassed by the president.

Mintzberg's theories were useful in examining the changes that occurred over long periods of time within the organizational life cycle of the colleges. During periods of conflict there were many significant similarities in the organizational dynamics of three of the colleges (Unionized, Crisis and Traditional.) These similarities included altered financial circumstances, poor communication between the faculty and their presidents, and the appeals to external influencers. Mintzberg's theories of the methods used by the influencers to alter the power dynamics within the organization during these periods of conflict illuminated the process that occurred as influencers attempted to exert control over their organization.

Mintzberg's theories were less useful in articulating differences within organizations in the same power configuration. Mintzberg's observation that the Meritocracy power configuration reverts to the Political Arena during periods of conflict and can reinvent itself with a return to the Meritocracy was supported by analysis of the case study data. However the theory is less useful in articulating the differences that occur within the organization while it remains in the Political Arena power configuration. These periods of crisis can last for years as they did in the case studies. A further refining of the nuances that occur within the power configuration of the Political Arena would be beneficial to those interested in the process of power in and around academic organizations.

Summary and Conclusions

Several conclusions emerge from this research. The first conclusion derived from the findings was that the standards of the Middle States Association Commission on Higher Education and the American Association of University Professors provided a model for faculty to pattern in the four colleges during the focal period. Additionally, specific policies and procedures of each association were modified during the historical period. These changes strengthened the real or potential influence of the association over the institution.

Between the 1960's and the 1990's, the MSA continued to revise and clarify its standards of accreditation. These standards which identify the characteristics of exemplary institutions, were circulated to member institutions in publications of the association and utilized by all parties involved in the accreditation process. The importance of the faculty role in governance was stressed in these documents including the concept of academic freedom. During the focal period the MSA evaluation process evolved from an external evaluation into a true institutional self-study. A new MSA requirement introduced during the focal period was the submission of a Periodic Review Report from each institution five years after the completion of the self-study. This MSA Commission on Higher Education requirement combined with an increased emphasis on planning strengthened the faculty role in the governance process by involving the faculty in ongoing planning and evaluation in the institution.

The AAUP standards pertain to important aspects of academic life. Beginning in 1915 and continuing throughout the century, these policy statements provided specific guidelines for the faculty to utilize as they attempted

to implement changes in structures and processes on their own campuses. The AAUP technique of issuing joint statements with associations representing governing boards and administrators has been a key factor in the acceptance of these statements by academe. By 1960, the start of the focal period of this study, AAUP's Committee A and Committee T had over forty years of experience with faculty issues regarding academic freedom and tenure. Committee A had clearly delineated guidelines for judicial safeguards in the form of committee structures and procedures. In the early years of this century, these guidelines were adopted in many established institutions. The case study of Elite College described how faculty adopted AAUP guidelines during the first wave of faculty revolts in the early 1900's.

For a variety of reasons many faculty did not attempt to implement AAUP standards regarding academic freedom, tenure and governance in their colleges until the focal period of this study between the 1960's and the 1990's. In the early 1960's, Committee T conducted its first investigations of governance issues on college campuses. During the focal period Committee T published the Joint Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities (1966). With this standard that delineated the roles for faculty, presidents and trustees in shared governance in place, Committee T began to adopt techniques utilized so effectively by Committee A to influence organizational behavior. Furthermore, other AAUP policy statements formulated between 1960 and 1990 addressed specific components of the faculty role e.g., the budget process, providing standards on various aspects of academic life.

A second conclusion from the findings was that Mintzberg's (1983a,b) theories provided a framework to examine how influencers used power to affect institutional decision making in organizations. A strength of Mintzberg's theory is that it addresses both organizational design structures as well as power configurations. The design structures provide a framework to explain how various components of the organization fit together. His topology of organizational power synthesizes aspects of organizational structure and power, examines internal and external influencers and is applicable to normative organizations such as private colleges.

Additionally, Mintzberg's theories provided a mechanism to explain how the professional associations influenced organizational behavior as well as the methods used by the internal influencers, the faculty and their presidents, to alter the power dynamics in the institution. The MSA relied on the method of direct access to the decision makers while the AAUP used pressure campaigns (publicity) to exert influence over the organization.

Ironically the methods used by the two associations to influence organizational behavior are diametrically opposed in their use of publicity. The MSA avoids publicity working quietly behind the scenes to alter the Presidents and administrators behavior. The MSA Professional Staff members act as resources and consultants on how to implement the standards. The Visiting Team Chairs, frequently presidents at like institutions provide role modeling for the Presidents and practical advice on how to address problems in the institution. Interestingly the accrediting bodies refusal to publicize an institutions problems was used against them by those who wanted to limit the power of the accrediting bodies in the debate over the 1992 amendments to the Higher Education Act (Longanecker, 1994; Benjamin, 1994; Atwell, 1994.)

Conversely since its inception the AAUP has viewed publicity as a weapon freely acknowledging that it is the administration of an institution rather than the faculty or the institution that is censured. Since the names of all parties are published with explicit details of the conflict, administrators are likely to experience some embarrassment. This increases their motivation to have the censure removed and the periodic updates on the situation published in Academe halted.

The success of the MSA's use of direct access to decision makers in the four case histories was due to the contacts between the MSA Professional Staff, Visiting Team Chairpersons and Team Visitors. The college addressed the MSA standards in the self-study report. When aspects of the report contradicted the standards, the college received recommendations from the MSA Team. The MSA monitored whether these recommendations were implemented through the use of the Periodic Review Report, and Follow-Up Reports and Special MSA Visits as necessary.

The effective use of pressure campaigns by the AAUP is apparent as one reviews the history of the process as printed in Academe. Some institutions remained on the censure list for many years before attempting to have the censure removed. In other instances it took a change in presidents to begin the process stipulated by the AAUP to have the sanction removed. Among the case studies, both Traditional and Crisis College were censured by Committee A for violations of academic freedom and tenure. Both colleges eventually made changes in their policies to bring them in line with AAUP guidelines and petitioned the AAUP to have the censure removed. Committee T investigated Unionized College in the 1960's and Crisis College in the 1990's. Both college administrations

experienced the weapon of publicity as the conflicts between the President and the faculty were aired in the publications of the AAUP.

The internal influencers (faculty) used the system of expertise and the system of politics to overcome the president's system of authority. An analysis of the case study data revealed that the faculty with the support of the President and the Board of Trustees utilized the system of expertise to attain their goals in the college. At Elite College this was the case throughout the focal period. At Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College periods of relative tranquility varied over differing lengths of time through the terms of respective Presidents. Difficulties arose as these three colleges faced financial problems and budget deficits. Decision making became more centralized as presidents reverted to the system of authority to address these financial difficulties. Although the faculty initially accepted presidential authority as necessary to provide leadership through difficult periods, they eventually came to believe that their own expertise was being undermined unnecessarily. At this point, the faculty turned to the system of politics to extend their influence in the decision-making process.

With the system of politics authority (formal power of the president) was displaced by politics (informal, illegitimate power) because of problems in one of the other systems of influence. One of the ways that politics replaces legitimate power in the organization was through direct links to external influencers. When this occurred, the chain of authority was not honored - instead there were direct links between the external and internal influencers. The faculty utilized this technique in appeals to both MSA and the AAUP. For example, as discussed in the case studies faculty at Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College appealed to the AAUP on issues related to tenure or governance. The use of politics through direct links to external influencers was an effective way for faculty to overcome the presidents system of authority and exert their influence in the institution.

Analysis of the data revealed that the professional bureaucracy structure was descriptive of the organizational design structure of the colleges at Time 1 and Time 2. The Meritocracy power configuration with transformation temporarily to the Hybrid Political Arena was the predominant power configuration during the focal period for three of the colleges. The pattern of financial difficulty in the college followed by the emergence of an autocratic president and conflict with the faculty appeared in Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College at different points in their histories. The period of conflict between the faculty and the president brought increased attention from the external influencers, the MSA and AAUP.

As suggested by Mintzberg's theory only Elite College which began the focal period with a strong professional bureaucracy structure and a Meritocracy power configuration maintained those organizational dynamics throughout the focal period. While the three more tuition dependent colleges experienced periods of transition to what Mintzberg (1983a) terms the Political Arenas. Mintzberg noted that these cycles of conflict and renewal occur in the Meritocracy because in an organization of experts there is an ongoing conflict between the power of expertise and the power of politics.

Mintzberg's theories were most useful in explaining the process of how and why influencers altered the power dynamics in the colleges. Mintzberg's theories illuminated the methods used by the faculty, presidents and associations to influence the organization over long periods of time. The scope of Mintzberg's theories are impressive. The power theory identifies the myriad factors affecting changes in and around organizations as they move through the organizational life cycle.

Mintzberg's theories were less useful in articulating the differences in organizations within the same power configuration. The case studies of the three colleges that remained in the Political Arena power configuration for long periods illustrates this point. Mintzberg's conceptualization of the Meritocracy power configuration with transitions into the Political Arena as the power configuration for academic organizations was supported by the case study analysis. Further delineation of the processes that occur while academic organizations remain in protracted periods of conflict in the Political Arena would be useful to those interested in governance and allocation of power in the future.

This study contributes to an understanding of power in academic organizations. Analysis of data from this study identified several factors that triggered the shift toward the Political Arena and increased conflict in private colleges including worsening financial conditions in the colleges, an autocratic Presidential leadership style, an alteration in the faculty's participation in the decision making process, poor communication between the faculty and the President and loss of faculty morale. This study also identified changes in faculty behaviors to shift the colleges toward Meritocracy power configurations such as the move to codify faculty rights and responsibilities in by-laws documents and forge small faculty committees to represent the corporate faculty interest to administrators. The role of the professional associations that emerged from the data analysis was to formulate an ideal standard on a particular issue

and to assist the institution to adopt or maintain that standard especially in times of crisis. The actions of the professional associations supported the faculty's efforts to move the case colleges toward the Meritocracy power configuration. Additional research is needed to clarify the factors that contribute to changes in power dynamics in private colleges and suggest alternate solutions for conflict resolution to ameliorate the intense conflict illustrated in the diverse case studies during the focal period.

This research used analytic generalization as the method of data collection and analysis (Yin, 1989.) This involved identification of a comprehensive theory (Mintzberg, 1983a, b) and use of that theory in the selection of the cases and data analysis. Unlike statistical generalization where inferences are made about a population based on data collected from a sample, analytic generalization entails using the theory as a model with which to compare the results of the study (Yin, 1989.) This research also incorporated historical data to provide a more comprehensive picture of how the faculty role in private colleges evolved between the 1960's and 1990's.

The combination of methods chosen for this research is one not commonly utilized in qualitative research for various reasons. Often a theory has not been identified to serve as a template for comparison with case study data or qualitative researchers prefer to generate theory from the data analysis rather than utilize it to guide the inquiry. Additionally historians argue that no one theory can encompass the multitude of factors that affect changes over time. This research utilized Yin's (1989) guidelines for case study analysis. Yin argues that case study research, especially multiple case study analysis is strengthened by the use of a theory to guide the study. The use of a social science theory proved useful in this study that involved an examination of organizational structures over time. A theory is useful in terms of the assistance it provides the researcher in the selection of cases and analysis of data. The purpose of this study was to illuminate how and why the faculty governance role evolved during the focal period. The use of a theory and the process of analytic generalization afforded an opportunity to test the applicability of the theory.

A third conclusion from the findings of this study was that the faculty role in governance changed during the focal period between the 1960's and 1990's. In three of the colleges the faculty and the presidents argued over the faculty role in the governance of the institution. These periods of conflict culminated in faculty revolts against the presidents.

The faculty revolt at Elite College in 1916 occurred years before the focal period of this study. At that time the faculty utilized the practical proposals, an early standard of the AAUP, as a model to strengthen their position in the institution. Following the revolt, the faculty drafted by-laws and established the Committee on Appointments. This committee provided a mechanism for faculty representatives to meet with the President on an ongoing basis for input into the decision making process. During the focal period in the 1980's when the college experienced financial problems, Elite's faculty revised their by-laws to form the Committee on Academic Priorities to provide a direct mechanism for the faculty to communicate with the President on this crucial aspect of institutional decision making. The faculty used the 1988 MSA Self-Study to examine their effectiveness in the institution including the faculty role in the plan for financial equilibrium.

The faculty revolts at Unionized, Traditional and Crisis Colleges were influenced to a great degree by broader concerns facing colleges in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's. Some of the most problematic issues for the smaller tuition driven private colleges included changing academic interests of students, enrollment shortfalls and increasing maintenance and personnel costs.

In these three case colleges a financial crisis in the institution escalated into conflict between the President and the faculty. The President charged by the Board to maintain or increase enrollments and strengthen the financial picture assumed a more autocratic leadership style to achieve these goals. This invariably led to problems relating to faculty tenure and governance. Several examples are depicted in the case studies of Unionized, Traditional and Crisis College.

For example, at Traditional College in the 1980's after years of declining enrollment, loss of tenured positions and conflict with the President, the faculty drafted the Traditional College Plan in an effort to retain the liberal arts focus of the curriculum while continuing to attract qualified students. In another example, at Crisis College in the 1990's, the faculty complained that they were not involved in the decision making process in the college on an institutional level. They resented the President spending large sums to improve the physical plant such as the instillation of brick sidewalks rather than using the scarce funds for academic priorities and to ameliorate low faculty salaries. They attempted unsuccessfully to form a collective bargaining unit.

Each of the three faculties revolted against their presidents. In an effort to subdue the power of the President, the faculty attempted to strengthen their governance structure and/or increase their access to the Board. They appealed to the external influencers (the MSA and AAUP) for support. Following periods of conflict with the

President, the faculty wrote and/or strengthened their by-laws (the document that outlines their rights and responsibilities in the institution including their standing committee structure) or put other structures e.g. senates, or after the 1960's unions or faculty executive committees) in place.

In sum, each of the four college faculties evolved at a different pace and used different methods to strengthen their governance role in the institution. A period of hardship and conflict against the President united each faculty. The drafting or strengthening of faculty by-laws was a necessary step for the faculty to assume an identity as a corporate entity as was the identification of a faculty leadership group. The one college (Crisis) that continues in conflict with the President at the close of the case study never drafted autonomous by-laws although a strong faculty leadership group (the faculty Executive Committee was identified).

An observation first noted by Committee T (Report of Progress of Committee T, Bulletin of the AAUP, Vol. XXII, No. 3, Mar., 1936) occurred in the histories of the colleges. Committee T noted that the "personal equation" aspect significantly influenced the effectiveness of the faculty governance role. One President could be supportive of the faculty, utilize committee structures effectively and maintain a good rapport with the faculty. A subsequent President could reverse this pattern entirely. This was observed at Traditional and Crisis College during the focal period. Hence the need stressed by the AAUP for faculty participation in the choice of a new President or Dean. Research conducted by Lee (1991) made a similar point, i.e., that the administration needed to yield to the committee structure and use it appropriately. It is not just that the faculty need to put the appropriate committees in place. Ultimately if the president overrides or ignores the committees than faculty morale suffers and faculty view the system as futile. This was observed among some of the faculty at Unionized and Crisis College in the 1990's.

Are the faculty better off at the conclusion of the focal period in the 1990's than they were at the start of the focal period in the 1960's? This research sought to examine the legacy of the period of "innovation in governance" for the faculty in private colleges. What effect did this legacy of innovation have on faculty in the case study institutions and is it likely to have similar effects on faculty in other institutions of higher education?

The most significant legacy of the period of innovation in governance that influences faculty behavior in all types of institutions was the formulation of standards by the professional associations particularly the AAUP and the faculty attempts to implement and maintain these standards on local campuses. A reading of the publications of the AAUP during the focal period reveals numerous examples of faculty from all types of institutions turning to the AAUP for assistance in initiating or maintaining some concept pertaining to faculty rights and responsibilities on their campuses.

Both the MSA and the AAUP derived their standards from the membership of the organizations. The standards should not be viewed as a mechanism for generating conformity in institutions of higher education although a movement toward some "ideal" conformity is likely as the standards are implemented and more importantly maintained in more institutions. Rather the purpose of the standards as articulated in the MSA's Characteristics of Excellence and the AAUP's Policy Documents and Reports is to provide a reference for what a concept such as shared governance can be in any one institution based on the experience of many institutions in academe over long periods of time. The case study examples were useful in this research because the method of analytic generalization that guided the research led to the inclusion of cases that articulated what an institution that had implemented and maintained the MSA and AAUP standards looks like (Elite College) as well as two diverse private colleges that struggled to implement and maintain the standards (Unionized and Crisis Colleges) and one institution where the conflict is ongoing as the case concludes (Crisis College).

Are the examples of faculty struggles with these standards limited to the more dependent private colleges? Again a perusal of the publications of the AAUP during the focal period provide many examples of appeals from newer struggling community colleges as well as the established universities. As noted by AAUP's Committees A and T, faculty from the more troubled institutions often with financial problems are more likely to appeal for assistance. However maintaining standards in established institutions over long periods of time is a challenge for faculty in all types of institutions. A faculty member on the first Committee A in 1915 resigned from the committee since one of the first appeals to the AAUP was from his "established" institution, the University of PA. In the 1990's AAUP censure lists included smaller institutions as well as an established university.

As the case studies of three of the colleges illustrated, maintaining a standard drawn from the AAUP or MSA during the focal period provided a primary source of conflict between the faculty and their presidents in the decades following the 1960's. Whether the faculty would characterize themselves as better off would depend on their situation at a given point in time. However, analysis of the case study data from this research supports the comment from Committee T reports during this century that there is a steady movement toward acceptance and maintenance of

the standards as articulated by the AAUP. Whether this will continue into the next century will depend to a great degree on how faculty respond to the 1990's movement to undermine the tenure system. As revealed in case study of Traditional College no other issue appears more threatening to the faculty role in academic decision making.

Recommendations

The findings and conclusions of this study suggest several recommendations for those concerned with accreditation, organizational theory and the faculty role in governance: the regional accrediting organizations e.g., the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association, the American Association of University Professors, faculty, presidents and administrators, and researchers.

For The Accrediting Organizations

1. Orient faculty to the accrediting association and more fully involve them in the self-study process.

Many faculty at the four colleges had only a rudimentary knowledge of the accreditation process. They often do not realize that the point of the self-study is to strengthen the institution. Some fear that criticism could lead to loss of accreditation. Some do not realize that it is highly unusual for a college to lose its accreditation. The Academic Dean or another administrator is generally the only one to present the goals and purposes of the self-study process to the faculty and this may only occur every ten years prior to the onset of another self-study.

The accrediting association needs to communicate directly with faculty. Because the membership in the association is an institutional membership, all materials are usually sent to the office of the President or a delegate and is never seen by the faculty. A periodic newsletter could be sent to a faculty leader with permission to duplicate and distribute to faculty. This newsletter could provide information on the self-study process and updates on current issues related to accreditation. For example, a newsletter would have been a very useful device to make faculty aware of the accrediting associations views in the nationwide debate on the 1992 amendments to the Higher Education Act. The faculty need to be educated to the usefulness of the self-study document as a mechanism for planning. Interviews with senior faculty in the four colleges revealed a lack of knowledge and interest in the work of the accrediting association. Additionally new faculty are always entering the system. One team Chairperson likened the ten year self-study process to a snapshot of the institution at a given point in time. If the work of the association is going to continue to "focus on the academics" as the founders of the Commission on Higher Education envisioned then the faculty need to be fully informed and involved in the endeavor. There's a new generation of faculty members on campus every ten years - new family members in the portrait and they need to be oriented to the process.

Lastly, the broader issues of overall faculty participation in regional accreditation associations needs to be addressed in a national forum especially in light of the changes in accreditation from the 1992 amendments to the Higher Education Act. Relevant issues include strengthening the faculty role in the associations by increasing the number of faculty on Visiting Teams and on the Commissions of Higher Education of the accreditation associations. If the focus of accreditation is to remain on the "academics" than increasing faculty participation in the endeavor could only strengthen the process. The Higher Education Act which regulates federal student aid programs will again be up for reauthorization in 1997 (American Council on Education, HENA, 1996.)

Accreditation attempts to look at an institution individually and idiosyncratically. Efforts to impose more standardization interferes with that. Faculty need to be more involved in the process because the effort is aimed at improving the individual institution.

For The American Association of University Professors

1. Provide continued orientation to faculty on the concept of shared governance. The AAUP already provides orientation and continuing education services to campuses on both the national and state level on a variety of relevant issues. Chapters serve as resources for members on AAUP policies and procedures. However additional interventions are warranted. One of the Team Chairpersons interviewed for this research commenting on the faculty's limited knowledge of governance issues noted that for many faculty, governance is "whatever we are doing here." Faculty, especially new faculty need orientation to the concept of shared governance and their role in the process. Mechanisms that provide models of governance at like institutions would be especially useful. Faculties in the four colleges generally revised their by-laws with no consultation from any one with expertise on governance outside the institution including the AAUP. AAUP chapters could sponsor orientation sessions for new faculty that

review the joint statement and the history of the faculty governance role in the institution. Much as they have used the free subscriptions to Academe to orient the Trustees to faculty governance issues - the AAUP needs to educate the faculty. The AAUP has long recognized that no one else assumes this responsibility if they do not.

For The Faculty

1. Utilize the self-study process more effectively. Faculty need to be aware of how the self-study process works and the status of current follow-up issues on their campuses. Faculty leadership groups need to request access to reports submitted to the accrediting association and correspondence between the accrediting association and the institution. Faculty leadership groups could provide a more in depth orientation to the process than is currently available on many campuses. Faculty need to use the self-study process as part of an ongoing cycle of planning and evaluation - not only of their governance role - but of all significant aspects of the institution.

Several senior faculty with responsible positions in the governance role of their institutions at the four colleges knew very little about their most recent self-studies. Some requested that the researcher not even bother to ask the questions because they "knew nothing about it."

Faculty leadership groups should insist on input on faculty appointed to the self-study committees. Generally senior faculty with experience in the institution are appropriate members for the Steering Committee while both newer and senior faculty should serve as members of the subcommittees. The Faculty leadership group should request input along with administrators in the discussions with the Professional Staff of the accrediting association into the focus of self-study for the institution. Faculty need to know that they can request that the MSA include a team member with a particular focus and be sure that the Visiting Team will have a faculty member conversant with the appropriate faculty governance role in the institution and faculty policy issues as defined by the AAUP Joint Statement. This is especially important for campuses with ongoing conflict between the faculty and the administration.

No other regular mechanism besides the self-studies was identified either in the literature or in the histories of the institutions for the faculty to use to evaluate their role in the institution. Occasionally an institution may bring in a consultant or a faculty or administrative group will suggest that the college committee structure be evaluated and revised. However, this is a haphazard process whereas the self-study provides a mechanism for ongoing review and planning.

Faculty rarely did any planning or set any long term goals regarding the governance process in the four colleges. An example of the self-study working as it was intended to is at Traditional College in the late 1980's. The faculty used the MSA Self-Study process to evaluate their own role and begin to make necessary changes. From comments in the minutes of a faculty meeting where the observation was made that little had been done to act on recommendations from the last self-study through to the conclusion of the MSA Team Visit, the faculty used the process effectively.

2. Carefully revise faculty by-laws documents and handbooks with an eye toward improving faculty effectiveness on committees. Send faculty to conferences and workshops where faculty governance issues are discussed. Strengthen the sections of the by-laws and handbooks that address process issues and length of service on committees. Identify a faculty committee such as a nominating committee to provide a balance of new and experienced faculty on committees. In addition to devising a committee structure in the by-laws, faculty need to designate the process to assure that committee service will be productive. Several examples drawn from Elite and Traditional Colleges' Faculty Handbooks illustrate this point. The faculty handbook at Traditional College instructs committees to focus on policy issues, identify priorities and plan a schedule of committee activities for the year including a report to the general faculty. The handbooks of both colleges also address length of service on committees and balance on the committees. The membership of the most important committees at Elite, the Committee on Appointments and the Committee on Academic priorities, must be elected by two-thirds of those present and voting rather than a simple majority. This helps to assure that respected members of the faculty represent the faculty on these committees that meet regularly with the President. These committees also elect faculty to five year rather than two or three year terms. This seems to have been a contributing factor to their success.

Ordinarily faculty handbooks designate two or three year committee terms perhaps to give everyone a chance to serve and avoid any faculty from becoming too powerful. However the long term usefulness of this approach is questionable. Without continuity, the committee can lose sight of its focus. Additionally if administrators are members of the committee by virtue of their office, they remain on the committees indefinitely and can dominate the committee decision making process.

For College Presidents And Administrators

1. Recognize that shared governance is an activity that incorporates both process and outcomes. Pay attention to the process. One theme that ran through the histories of the two associations and the four colleges was the relationship between an appropriate faculty governance role and good faculty morale. Faculty wanted to be consulted on issues of concern to them because of their academic expertise and role in the institution. They did not expect that all faculty recommendations would be implemented but they wanted an opportunity to be heard and acknowledged. The best way to obtain faculty input, confirmed by years of research by AAUP's Committee T, is through committees that provide mechanisms for communication between the faculty, trustees, Presidents, and administrators. Presidents need to support these committees. Presidential and trustee support lend credence to collaborative structures. Most importantly Presidents need to bring issues to these committees in a timely manner before the decisions are made and allow enough time for the process of discussion and debate that must occur.

Examples from the case studies demonstrate the need for this focus on process. A former President at Unionized College lamented the "glacial slowness" of the committee process. Faculty at this college turned to collective bargaining in part because it provided input into the decision making process and tried to ignore it. Historically this point was supported by Kemerer and Baldrige (1976) who noted that one of the advantages of a collective bargaining agreement was that made it more difficult for administrators to make on the spot decisions without faculty consultation.

Many of the problems at Crisis College in the late 1980's and 1990's were rooted in the faculty perception that the President did not involve them in important decisions. They also attempted to form a union.

These colleges contrast dramatically with Elite College where Presidents had used the Committee on Appointments for faculty input since 1916. An MSA Team Chairpersons who had chaired their last evaluation commented on the good rapport between the President and the faculty. Even though the president was making "hard choices" and cutting back on programs, the faculty fully supported their President. The faculty had been involved in the discussion on the need for cut backs and realized that changes would have to be made.

When faculty are not involved in the decision making process, morale suffers and faculty may withdraw from the process. One faculty member at Unionized College referred to this as "teach and run." The result for the institution is faculty who feel helpless to affect important decisions in the college. Because of the faculty's expertise and ability to strengthen the institution through maintenance of programs, initiation of new programs, acquisition of grants, or new initiatives to attract students their belief in the mission and direction of the institution is crucial.

An observation by Elite's president is noteworthy. The President observed that the faculty had a great deal of responsibility for running the college and that this was perceived as a strength of the college. The President noted that with the faculty in this position, many thought it a difficult place to be an administrator but that the reverse was true. The President found from speaking to other administrators that the relationship between the faculty and the president was "more cordial and constructive than any I know" (1993 Interview).

The President possesses formal authority, commands many of the resources in the institution and has more power than any other internal influencer. The President sets the tone of the communication between faculty and the administration. The President must convey a sense of respect and trust in the faculty and the committee process and role model this behavior for other administrators. This type of approach to the faculty appeared to result in a more positive outcome for the organization in the four case histories than any other factor.

2. Use the Institutional Self-Study report as a document for future planning. This recommendation was first made by the Middle States Association in 1958. Interviews with Team Chairpersons, Presidents, faculty and administrators revealed that the self-study report was not consistently used for future planning by the faculty or any college constituency. For example, one faculty member at traditional College who was instrumental in drafting the organization section of a self-study report that outlined suggestions for change, noted that he had forgot what was written and that the faculty never referred to the self-study as a document for future planning. One MSA Team Chair summed up this issue by noting that most college MSA documents once completed are "dead documents." They sit on the shelf and no one looks at them. This was a clearly identified problem among those conversant with the self-study process. When the MSA first began stressing planning in the late 1950's, colleges did not have standing planning and budgeting committees. By the 1990's many campuses had formed these structures. These standing committees could assume responsibility for both drafting the section of the report that addresses planning and for implementation of the MSA recommendations after the process is completed.

An alternative approach was suggested by a college president and MSA Team Chairperson. He found the present system of disbanding the MSA Steering Committee after the Team Visit unfortunate. He suggested that the Steering Committee remain in place to oversee the long term follow up process. However, he was quick to add that of course no one would want to do this. Unfortunately, unless the document is utilized more efficiently much of the benefit of the self-study endeavor is lost.

3. Involve college faculty in all aspects of the self-study from the selection of the type of self-study and the appointment of the steering committee through the follow-up process including the drafting of required reports. A consistent finding in the histories of the colleges was that faculty were not fully informed or involved in all aspects of the self-study process. Orient the faculty to the self-study process on an ongoing basis, rather than every ten years at the start of a new self-study. Share news items from the accrediting association with the faculty. Unless the faculty see the self-study as an opportunity to examine and improve the organization rather than as a visit from outsiders who may deny institutional accreditation the purpose of the exercise is lost. The faculty role in the operating core of the organization is central to the effectiveness of academic institutions. Faculty need to address planning and budgeting issues related to academic policies, resources and curriculum. The self-study provides an excellent mechanism to do so.

For Future Research

1. Identify barriers to the implementation of governance research findings. This research was designed to examine the evolution of the faculty role in governance over long periods of time in representative types of institutions. Corson (1975) observed that "no one theory of governance has yet been propounded that specifies the structure suitable for all four year colleges and universities (p. 285). Although that statement is still true more than twenty years later, much is known about "what works and why it works" in college governance. Future research needs to focus on identification of the barriers to implementation of these research findings on college campuses. When it comes to governance issues faculty are very locally oriented. How can research findings be implemented on college campuses so that governance structures can be strengthened?

In the 1990's, administrators question the need for faculty tenure which has often been a prerequisite for service in faculty leadership positions. Administrators on many campuses are taking the lead in initiating new programs and suggesting curricular reform especially in core curriculum areas. The essential issues being addressed on college campuses in the 1990's often center on refocusing programs and initiatives to attract students in competitive markets. Faculty need to participate in these discussions which will shape the future missions of institutions of higher education. The committee structures when designed and utilized properly provides the mechanism for faculty control of the areas within their domain, e.g., academic policy and curriculum. Faculty need to be sure that structures and processes are in place on their campuses. Future research on the faculty role in governance needs to focus on the identification and implementation of strategies to assure this goal.

2. Consider utilization of Mintzberg's theories on organizational dynamics. Mintzberg's theories were very useful in this examination of organizational power dynamics. Few theorists incorporate both structural and process aspects of organizational life into coherent models as effectively as Mintzberg. Mintzberg's structure and power typology provided a mechanism to examine the complex interactions that occurred between faculty, administrators and the professional associations. His theories are very applicable to academic organizations. Hardy (1990) concluded that research is "bogged down" with many aspects of academic life interpreted in terms of four basic models. Very little has been written about interorganizational power in the higher educational literature. Further use of Mintzberg's theories will provide an opportunity for testing alternative theories in academic organizations.

3. Increase utilization of analytic generalization in case study research on institutions of higher education. Analytic generalization provides an opportunity to test and refine theory in case study research. More researchers on higher education in the 1980's and 1990's have turned to qualitative methods to obtain the data for their inquiries. Incorporation of analytic generalization allows for generalization from the theory to the specifics of a particular case and provides an opportunity for theory testing and refinement that may contribute to an understanding of the organizational dynamics in institutions of higher education.

A Final Note

This research on the faculty role in governance was enmeshed within the web of financial problems that beset higher education following a period of relative growth and prosperity in the 1960's. To accommodate the returning veterans in the 1950's and later the baby boomers in the 1960's, the federal government poured tremendous amounts of money into higher education in the form of student aid programs. However due to changing population patterns, by the 1970's private colleges began to face enrollment shortfalls, changing student academic interests and competition from the public sector. As depicted in the case studies many faculty and Presidents entered protracted periods of conflict as cost-cutting measures were instituted including the elimination of faculty positions. The faculty turned to the regional accrediting bodies to intervene on their behalf as they attempted to strengthen their role in the decision making process in their institutions.

On the national level by the late 1980's Congress began to examine how well institutions were overseeing the federal monies they had received. Congress questioned the costs associated with fraud and other abuses in federal funds for student aid programs (Atwell, 1994.) They too turned to the accrediting bodies not for assistance but to demand accountability. Society in the form of public policy makers and educators began to question the ability of the voluntary accrediting bodies to monitor academic organizations particularly when institutional misuse of federal funds was identified. Concern for student aid monies led to changes in the 1992 amendments to the Higher Education Act that called for a stronger government role in the form of SPREs (Longanecker, 1994.)

The important question being addressed with the formation of SPREs is who should control institutions of higher education. Can higher education monitor itself through a system of voluntary agencies with minimal state oversight or are more stringent measures required?

In response to the question who controls the organization, Mintzberg (1983a) concluded that a variety of approaches present the best approach to controlling the organization. He suggested that organizations need to be trusted, pressured and democratized. The organization and the chief executive officer in particular must be trusted to set the tone for responsible behavior. However, trust alone is not enough. Mintzberg suggests bolstering trust with pressure. He notes that pressure campaigns "serve to correct deviations from accepted social norms" (p.652). He suggests that pressure campaigns both change and "police" the organization. Lastly, Mintzberg advocates democratizing organizations by encouraging participation in organizational decision-making and broadening the representation on the board.

Applying this suggestion to accreditation and who controls higher education it would appear that Mintzberg's three- prong approach is applicable. The concept of trust is an essential component of the current system of voluntary accreditation. The associations, after consultation with the membership provide the standards on various aspects of academic life. Higher educational organizations strive to achieve these standards through a voluntary process of self-evaluation. The MSA process as described in the case studies relies on the President of the institution to assume responsibility for addressing areas of weakness noted in the self-study.

Regarding Mintzberg's second suggestion, many of the actions of the MSA are aimed at democratizing the organization. For example, the MSA is a strong advocate for both diversity and increased participation by college constituencies in the decision making process.

Lastly, the regional accrediting bodies have been reluctant to use pressure campaigns to change the behavior of member organizations. However as demonstrated in over 50 years of experience with the AAUP, pressure campaigns are a very effective techniques to influence organizational behavior. A solution that incorporates Mintzberg's suggestions on how to best "control" organizations would be to support the system of voluntary accreditation associations. Retaining this accreditation process implies that society continues to trust that college presidents, administrators and faculty will exhibit responsible behavior. This trust would be combined with ongoing efforts to democratize the organization thereby opening up the decision-making process to the membership of the organization. Additionally, the regional accrediting bodies could use the "weapon of publicity" as necessary. In this manner, the best of the accreditation process may be retained without the intrusion of government agencies.

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